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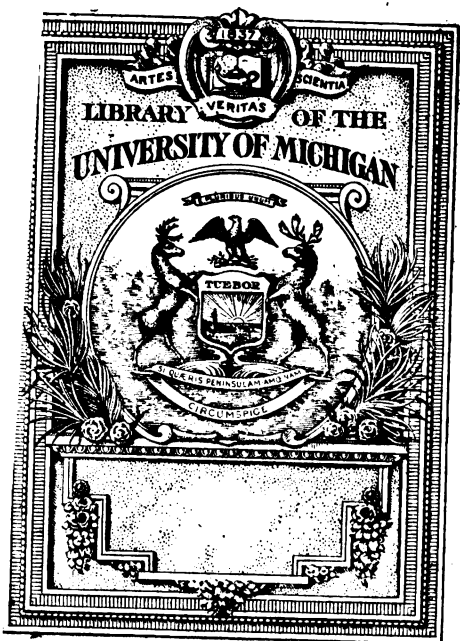
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HEROES,
PHILOSOPHERS, AND COURTIER.

VOL. II.

HEROES,
PHILOSOPHERS, AND COURTIER
OF
THE TIME OF LOUIS XVI.

BY
THE AUTHOR OF
THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE COURT OF FRANCE
UNDER LOUIS XV.

by Mrs Annia Emma (Armstrong) Chatter =

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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CHARLES HECTOR, Count d'Estaing, (French Admiral), was born in Auvergne, 1729. He was of an ancient and honourable family. The name of d'Estaing is illustrious in the church and state history of France. The cathedral of Rhodéz had been built by a d'Estaing at his own expense. Sword and gown under the old régime of France had equal cause to be proud of the name henceforth to be celebrated in the annals of the American Rebellion. Charles Hector d'Estaing had formerly been a soldier. During the Seven Years' War

he had fought for France against England in India, under the orders of Lally Tollendal. In 1759, d'Estaing was taken prisoner at the siege of Madras. He had distinguished himself in that siege, but was thrown from his horse and wounded. More dead than alive, he fell into the hands of the enemy.

By the capitulation of Madras, d'Estaing was released, and it was then that he openly manifested his predilection and capacity for the Navy. This predilection had always been his ; the cultivation of it had been for the most part achieved during his voyage out to India. Upon his release he took the command of the ships *Condé* and *l'Expédition*, belonging to the French E. I. Company's service, and, with only two hundred men, he possessed himself of the Fort of Bender Abassi in the Persian Gulf, and of three English vessels. These successes were so quickly followed by others, that d'Estaing soon became on the sea an object of dread and observation to the English. At length, however, he was again captured by them, conveyed to London, and confined as a prisoner in the Tower, being accused of having broken his word at the capitulation of Madras. It was not likely that a fiery spirit like d'Estaing's would tamely submit to this

accusation, and to incarceration in the chief city of the enemy. From London, he appealed, by every means in his power, to Versailles, to avenge his honour and the cause of France. To d'Estaing, prudence appeared timidity. His ardent enthusiasm and eager impulse had often impelled him to deeds of daring, by which he had risked his own life and the lives of his men in a way more creditable to zeal than to discretion.

Biographers have asserted that d'Estaing was harshly treated during his imprisonment in London, and that he was not set free until the Peace of 1763; but from a manuscript correspondence between the Duc de Choiseul and the Earl of Egremont, it appears that he was liberated a year before that date; also, that the Kings of France and Great Britain exchanged personal compliments and expressions of mutual good-will upon the occasion. Of this let the reader—if he please—judge for himself from the following translations:—

*The Duc de Choiseul's Letter to the Earl of Egremont
(in Lord Bute's Secret Letter).**

“Versailles, March 7th, 1762.

“MONSIEUR,—I have received the letter which your Ex-

* MSS. Mus. Brit. Mitchell Papers.

cellency did me the honour to write to me, the 22nd of the month past, and I begin by making my very humble excuses to your Excellency for that letter of mine, which has been delivered to you by the Piqueur du Roy (Lé Roux), which, by an inconceivable stupidity of that same Piqueur, was more than one month upon its road, so that I could not recall it when I learned the return of M. le Comte d'Estaing. I therefore supplicate your Excellency to disregard that letter of mine, seeing the goodness with which his Britannic Majesty has sent back M. d'Estaing. It is true that the family of that officer had been alarmed at the treatment which he experienced in England, and it was impossible for me to refuse the solicitations addressed to me in his behalf by those who were interested concerning him.

"The King, my master, has ordered me to mark to your Excellency all the sensibility he feels of the proceeding which has distinguished the conduct of his Britannic Majesty towards him upon this occasion; and to add that, notwithstanding the unhappy circumstances now existent between the two nations, his Majesty desires his Britannic Majesty to reckon on his friendship, and consequently on his desire of establishing a reconciliation, founded upon the esteem with which the virtues of his Britannic Majesty inspire him. As to Monsieur d'Estaing, I acknowledge to your Excellency that it has appeared to me very difficult to judge of his conduct rigorously; but at the same time I confess that it has not been as delicate as it ought to have been. I have expressed to him my opinion of it on the part of the king. I supplicate you, monsieur, to tell me if M. d'Estaing is free to serve in Europe, for I promise you that during this war we will not cause him to recross the ocean.

"It remains to me to mark to your Excellency the senti-

ments of the distinguished consideration with which I have the honour to be, of your Excellence, the obedient, &c.

“LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.”

*The Earl of Egremont's Letter to the Duc de Choiseul
(in Lord Bute's Secret Letter).*

“Whitehall, April 7th, 1762.

“MONSIEUR,—Just as I was about to reply to your letter of the past month, I was attacked with a very violent illness, from which I am now recovering, so that I was obliged to defer the honour of writing to you. It is with true pleasure that I employ the first moments of my convalescence in thanking you, and in informing you, monsieur, of the real satisfaction with which the King has learned that he has succeeded in his intention of doing that which was agreeable to his very Christian Majesty in the matter of M. le Comte d'Estaing. And as his Majesty, in restoring him to liberty, never thought of attaching any conditions to that liberty, he orders me to send word to your Excellence, that the fate of that officer is left entirely at the disposition of his very Christian Majesty the King of France.

“The King, my master, on his part, also orders me to beg you to tell his very Christian Majesty that he is deeply sensible of the assurances of his friendship, and to add that that entertained by his Majesty for his very Christian Majesty has never been diminished by the sad circumstances of the war in which, to his very great regret, the two nations are engaged.—I have the honour to be, of your Excellence, the obedient servant,

“EGREMONT.”

But, though thus released in 1762, by special intercession of Louis XV., d'Estaing had, in the

intervening best years of his life, nourished an animosity against the English, by whom he had been twice taken prisoner, by whom he had been accused of having broken his word, and by complacency to whom the late King of France had restrained his arm during the remainder of the late war. In those intervening years d'Estaing had perfected his soldiership and seamanship, and time had done nothing to impair his warlike ardour. In 1777, d'Estaing was named Vice-Admiral of France. This honour he at first declined, declaring that "a general officer of land forces ought not to be placed over the heads of those who had grown old in the command of the sea." But France, now about to revenge herself for the loss of Canada, knew the value of personal animosity too well to permit d'Estaing thus to withdraw himself. In 1778, therefore, he was placed in command of a squadron of twelve ships and four frigates—this being the first squadron which was sent by the French Government to the succour of the United States.

D'Estaing was eagerly welcomed by Lafayette. D'Estaing had hoped to have met the squadron of Admiral Howe in the Delaware, but he quickly

solaced himself for disappointment on this point, by concerting with General Washington and Lafayette the conquest of Rhode Island. D'Estaing's fleet had sailed from Toulon on the 13th of April. The winds had been against the fleet. It did not anchor at the mouth of the Delaware until the 8th of July; and, in consequence of this adverse delay, the French Admiral had failed to encounter Lord Howe's squadron. D'Estaing, however, lost no time in writing to General Washington this letter :

“I have the honour of informing your Excellency of the arrival of the fleet of his most Christian Majesty, my master, the King of France, charged with the glorious task of giving to the United States of America, his allies, all proofs of his affection. . . . Honoured as I am by command' of this fleet, nothing can give me so much happiness as to succeed in carrying out the good-will and intentions of the King, my master, in concerting my operations with a General such as is your Excellency. The noble deeds and genius of General Washington have insured for him, in the hearts of all Europe, the truly sublime title of ‘Deliverer of America.’”

Just as d'Estaing anchored in the Delaware, England at home began to feel the effects of war against the French. Stocks began to rise and fall. Even Horace Walpole, at Strawberry Hill, could not resist the contagion of universal excitement. In the last war he had always thought that his friend, Harry Conway, was born to beat the French (although that hero was taken prisoner at Fontenoy, and nearly had his head cut off), and now Horace wrote to Harry Conway :

“Saturday, July 18th, 1778.

“Yesterday evening the following notices were fixed up in Lloyd’s Coffee-house :

“That a merchant in the City had received an express from France ; that the Brest fleet, consisting of twenty-eight ships of the line, were sailed, with orders to burn, sink, and destroy. That Admiral Keppel was at Plymouth, and had sent to demand three more ships of the line to enable him to meet the French.

“On these notices the Stocks sunk three and a-half per cent. An account I have received this morning from a good hand says that on Thursday the Admiralty received a letter from Admiral Keppel, who was off the Land’s End. . . . he hoped

to have an opportunity of trying his strength with the French fleet on our own coast; if not, he would seek them on theirs.

“The French fleet sailed on the 7th, consisting of thirty-one ships of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eight frigates. This statement is probably more authentic than those at Lloyd’s. Thus you see how big the moment is! and, unless far more favourable to us in its burst than good sense allows one to promise, it must leave us greatly exposed. Can we expect to beat without considerable loss?”

England had not believed in the French Navy. In the late war England was the acknowledged mistress of the sea. As Madame de Pompadour had then said—“The French seem born to rule the land, the English to control the waves.”—Marshal Belleisle, too, since dead, had then told King Louis XV. that men for the French army he always could find, but that he knew not where to lay his hands on a few thousand sailors.

De Maurepas was Minister of Marine in France until just before the Seven Years’ War. Owing, as beforesaid, to a ribald rhyme he then composed on the King’s friendship (“*l’amour sans ailes*”) for Madame de Pompadour, de Maurepas was served

with a *lettre de cachet*, which exiled him from Cabinet and Court. Only lately, as we have seen, restored to both in the reign of Louis XVI., de Maurepas, the old intriguer, was rather disposed to make light of the naval power which, without his aid, had grown thus amazingly; for Horace Walpole spoke below the mark when he wrote, as above, as to the number of ships which had sailed from Brest.

Thirty-two ships and fifteen frigates issued from the port of Brest, under the orders of the Count d'Orvilliers. The three divisions were commanded by Admirals de Guichen, Duchafaut and Lamotte Piquet. Of these men we shall see more hereafter. The Duke de Chartres, first prince of the blood, embarked with this expedition.*

Old Maurepas at Versailles says, in reference to this fine sight, "Do you know what a naval fight is? I will tell you. Two squadrons sail out from two opposite ports. They tack about, they manœuvre, make some noise with cannon, break some masts, tear some sails, kill some men! There is great waste of powder and bullets. Then both squadrons retire; each pretending to be mistress of

* Gazette de Paris, 1778.

the other. Each sings a *Te Deum*. The sea is not the purer for all this."

Admiral Keppel was amazed at the strength of the French Navy, which had increased so much since the last war. Admiral Keppel would have been still more amazed and indignant had he known that the French ships which now, in 1778, came sailing out from Brest, against Great Britain, were built with British timber, which, in 1775, had been obtained by intrigue: witness the following, hitherto unpublished, memorial:

"In March, 1775, it was proposed in the Cabinet of Versailles (seeing that England's supply of American timber would be cut short by the war; and as it had been proved in the House of Commons that the whole island of Great Britain did not afford wood enough to repair the Royal Navy) that France should send to England sufficient money, by trusty hands, to buy up large quantities of English timber, that the distress in England consequent upon American non-supply should be increased. Those of the Ministry who opposed this scheme were threatened into silence by its supporters. After some delay, Beaumarchais" (the author of *Figaro*) "was sent to London, from France, with

a credit of two millions of livres. With part of this money he was to buy up timber; part of it he was to keep for himself; and the remaining part he was to dispose of, in silencing such persons as might seem to know enough of the matter to make the circumstance public either in England or Holland. Beaumarchais accordingly bought up to the amount of £15,000 or £20,000 worth, which he got entered at London as bound for Portsmouth, but which in fact was sent to Havre de Grâce and Brest; and he left £1,000 more in the hands of a certain merchant, to dispose of in the same manner. He gave a good deal of it, in bribes, to Garnier, the French Chargé d'Affaires in London, &c. And this part of his commission he executed so well, that no discovery would have been made of the affair, had not a train of accidents led to it in France.

“The Duc de Bouillon has very extensive woods in Normandy, and about a year ago (1774) he sold timber from them to the Crown for ship-building, to the amount of £110,000. Although the contract was completed, and part of the wood was cut down, the money was not yet paid.

“As soon as this plan of buying English timber was adopted, De Sartine (Minister of War for Ma-

rine affairs) signified to the Duc de Bouillon that the King had little need of the wood bought of him, because the design of augmenting the Navy, for which it had been bought, was laid aside; and told him that his taking it back, and disposing of it, would be considered a favour.

“M. de Bouillon, who had been in some disgrace, and now wished to ingratiate himself, complied; he took the wood, and disposed of it at a loss of 100,000 crowns, which he certainly could ill afford. To his great surprise, last summer or autumn, being at his estate in Normandy, he heard of great augmentations making at Havre de Grâce, Brest, Rochefort, &c., in the Navy, and of great quantities of timber daily coming in there. This last circumstance incensed him against De Sartine, who had deceived him; and, on his return to Paris, he determined to inquire from whence this wood came. This he discovered by bribing a clerk in De Sartine’s office. He immediately wrote to a person of his acquaintance in London, who had formerly been his secretary, informing him of the whole affair, as far as he knew of it, and begging he would inquire into it. He communicated the matter to M. de Choiseul, and to M. de Guignes, who had been ambassador

in England, and to all the heads of the Queen's party; and, after long searches and inquiries, it was found that De Sartine had kept £70,000 to himself, and given £30,000 to Beaumarchais; that Maurepas, Miromesnil, and the Duc d'Aiguillon had one million and a half between them, and that the remaining unappropriated part remained in the treasurer of the Navy's hands.

"M. de Bouillon was for drawing up a memorial of the whole, and presenting it to the King, to expose to him the misconduct of the Ministry; but this was opposed by Choiseul, De Guignes, and the English gentleman, at least until some further discovery should be made." *

To return to our narrative: A sharp, but sanguinary conflict ensued between the French and English fleets, which had sailed out from Brest and Plymouth in 1778. The victory was undecided, but not positively to be beaten by Britannia on the waves, was a triumph to France. The Duc de Chartres, who had accompanied the squadron from Brest, was enthusiastically greeted upon his return to Paris.

With French sentiment the Duchesse de Chartres

* MS. (abbreviated) Mus. Brit. Ex Dono. Archdeacon Coxe.

had been portrayed in a picture which found popular favour at the moment, as awaiting the return of her absent lord on the sea-shore, like a goddess invoking Mars, Neptune, and Æolus. The Duc and Duchesse de Chartres were not notoriously devoted to each other in domestic life, and the goddess in the picture (which was exhibited in Paris, 1778) was dressed in the height of French fashion; but the sentiment atoned for the discrepancies of which the artist had been guilty; as did the idea of the Duc de Chartres having been on the British Channel fighting the English, compensate to Parisians, for the moment, for his not having gained an absolute victory over the enemy. When the royal French hero appeared at the Opera, the applause was extreme, and crowns of laurel were presented to him. Afterwards, by a quick turn of popular caprice, he was murmured against for not having brought back more trophies of his conquest. For this quick turn, and the lampoons against him, the Duc de Chartres had probably to thank the Count de Maurepas—that old courtier being still much addicted to rhyme and ribaldry, and uniformly jealous of another's success.

Again did the Count d'Orvilliers and Keppel meet on the sea, but this time it was said in France that they seemed rather to avoid than to seek each other. The excitement grew more and more vivid on both sides of the channel. Keppel was the hero of the moment in England. Even Lord Lyttelton, most of whose autograph letters are invitations to dinner, was roused. He wrote to his friend and *convive*, Mr. Roberts (in a free and easy handwriting) :

“ Captain Falkner is just arrived in town from Plymouth, with an express from Keppel. He came about four o'clock. Nothing but this is yet known—viz., that Keppel has engaged the French ; that they had made a running fight of it, and were all got into Brest. Lord Sandwich is gone with the Captain to Kew. I am got vastly better. L.”

“ Hill Street, ye 1st August.”*

The American rebellion was almost forgotten amid the excitement of war with the French. The cause for the moment was obliterated by the effect. The southern coasts of England were “studded with camps.” Militiamen were everywhere active. The whole country was in movement. King George

* Autograph, Mus. Brit.

and the Church were toasted. France was execrated on one side of the Channel, and England was pasquinaded on the other. All eyes in England were turned towards Admiral Keppel. A very small man, outwardly, was Admiral Keppel, to attract his country's observation. He was four years older than Admiral Count d'Estaing, having been born in 1725, but, like that French hero, Keppel bore in his body the marks of the Seven Years' War between France and England. In the Bay of Biscay, just twenty years before, Keppel was hit in the leg and lamed for life. "This," he had said, "may spoil my dancing, but not my fighting." Keppel had also served in General Braddock's campaign in the late war (as Washington had done); and when Admiral Byng was condemned to death for his Minorca defeat, he had vainly striven to save the life of that officer, and to intercede against what the French to this day call the "*sévérité implacable*" of England. ("In England they kill an admiral from time to time, to encourage the others," said Voltaire.) Keppel was not discouraged by Byng's fate. His courage was from a hardy Dutch root. His ancestors had not come over to England with the Conqueror, but with William of

Orange, called on one side of the Channel the saviour of the British constitution, and on the other the usurper of a father's throne. This ancestor, Keppel's grandfather, was created by William III. Earl of Albemarle. The father of Keppel, although of Dutch extraction, had rivalled the courtiers of Versailles for what in the eighteenth century were called "fine manners." Lord Chesterfield cited this second Earl of Albemarle as a model of good breeding.

The son, our hero, had passed his life on the quarter-deck. At ten years of age he was a midshipman. He had sailed all round the world with Anson; and when he became a commodore, it was in his ship that Sir Joshua Reynolds went out to Italy, Keppel then being bound (at twenty-four years of age) to demand satisfaction of the States of Barbary, for acts of piracy committed in the trade of the Mediterranean. By this mission Keppel nearly lost his head. The Dey of Algiers declared that it was strange that so great a power as England should send out as envoy to him, the great Mussulman, "a small beardless boy." "Had the King of Great Britain," retorted Keppel, "supposed that wisdom was measured by the length of the

beard, he would have sent your Deyship a he-goat." The Dey called for his mutes. Keppel pointed to the English squadron anchored in the bay, and said, "Put me to death, and you will find Englishmen enough out there to make me a glorious funeral pile."

Keppel's face was disfigured by a blow he had received in youth. But, though thus maimed and lame, he was none the less a hero. As Lord of the Admiralty, as Member of Parliament, as friend, comrade, and commander at sea, Keppel was universally beloved and respected. He was opposed at first to the American war. He had unflinchingly opposed the conduct and Council of the King, which had stung America into open rebellion. Now that war was inevitable—now that it had changed its aspect to a war against the French, Keppel was one of the first to fight. The brave sailor who, twenty years before, was lamed by a French ball in the Bay of Biscay, was now one of the most unflinching opponents of France upon the seas. France at large was the first to appreciate "Keppel's agony of glory," although a party in Paris, ever eager to flatter the Duc de Chartres, devised a means of doing so which was offensive to common delicacy. An effigy

of Keppel was dressed up in the costume of a British Admiral, and carried beneath the windows of the Palais Royal, the bearers of the effigy singing to the glory of the Duc de Chartres, and to the disgrace of his adversary, Keppel. The Duc and Duchesse de Chartres were attracted by these sounds, and, the people observing that they were witnesses of the act, lifted the effigy of Keppel into a dung-cart that stood ready for such a service, and wheeled him to the nearest fountain in the gardens, where they ducked and drowned him amidst fierce execrations. There was nothing in this but what may be seen on Guy Fawkes day in England, but the more rational newspapers of the time, and those in favour of Versailles, condemned the Duc de Chartres for permitting this indignity to his enemy to be practised on his own grounds.*

There were some in France at this moment even inclined to look favourably upon England; for Rousseau had talked of taking refuge in England, from the persecutions which had assailed him in France; and every word of Rousseau was just now remembered by his partisans, he having died, suddenly, at the estate of the Marquis de Girardin.

* APPENDIX L.

Rousseau's death, thus quickly following the decease of Voltaire, gave rise to all sorts of rumours, which made Paris, for the moment, almost indifferent to politics. Rousseau had lived to say and to see that "the American rebellion portends European Revolution." Voltaire and Rousseau died, almost at the same time, just as their doctrines began to be practically acknowledged in both hemispheres. The end of Voltaire we have already considered; let us now pause for a moment to glance at the end of Rousseau. The last moments of either philosopher were significant of his life and doctrines. Voltaire died amidst the acclamations and worship of Paris: to use his own words, he was "crushed beneath roses." Rousseau died far away from the city—its tumult and adulation, which, in life, he had affected to despise. The following is a contemporary account of Rousseau's death:*

"Upon the 2nd of July, 1778, Rousseau rose, as was his custom in summer, at five o'clock in the

* In a preceding chapter of this work it has been shewn how Rousseau absented himself from Paris on the arrival of Voltaire; how he had become the pensioner, in fact, of his disciple, the Marquis de Girardin, and had constituted himself the tutor of that nobleman's son.

morning. He seemed quite well, and went out to walk with his pupil, the boy of ten years old, whom he loved much. The child afterwards remembered that during this walk Rousseau often asked him to pause that he might rest himself. Rousseau returned alone to his cottage about seven o'clock, and asked his wife if breakfast were ready.*

“No, my good friend,” replied Madame Rousseau, “it is not ready yet.” “Well,” said Rousseau, “I will go into the grove. I shall not be far off. Call me when I am to come.”

“He came when he was called, took a cup of coffee, and went out again. A few moments afterwards he returned; eight o'clock struck; he said to his wife, ‘Why have you not paid the locksmith’s account?’ ‘Because,’ said she, ‘I wished you first to see it, and to tell me if any deduction from it need be made.’ ‘No,’ answered he, ‘I believe that locksmith to be an honest man;

* This woman’s name was originally Vasseur. She was formerly Rousseau’s mistress, afterwards his *gouvernante*, and finally married to him. She is described by those who knew her as a simple woman, who had not the wit to invent anything; her evidence as to Rousseau’s last moments is, therefore, the more reliable. The above is translated from her evidence, as transcribed by an Englishman at the time in Paris, where it was then generally accepted, although believed to be still new to most English readers.

his account must be correct; take some money and pay it.'

"Madame Rousseau took the money and went down stairs. No sooner was she at the foot of the staircase than she thought she heard Rousseau groan. She hastily remounted, and found him seated on a straw chair, resting on his elbow and looking very ill in the face.

"'What is the matter, my good friend?' asked she. 'Are you not well?' 'I feel,' said he, 'a great anxiety, and some pains as of colic.'

"Then Madame Rousseau, pretending to fetch something, went out, and told the *concierge* to go to the château, and to say there that Monsieur Rousseau was ill. Madame la Marquise de Girardin flew to the cottage, and, as a pretext for her sudden appearance there, fearing that it might alarm Rousseau, asked him if the sound of music had not disturbed him in the night, as they had played late in the château, and the cottage was close to the château. Rousseau looked at the Marquise de Girardin quietly, and said, 'Ah, madame! You do not come here about the music; I am very sensible of your goodness; but I am ill, and I beseech you to leave me alone with my wife, to whom I have many things to say.'

“Madame de Girardin went away. Then Rousseau told his wife to lock the door, and to come and sit down beside him. ‘You are obeyed, my good friend,’ said she. ‘How do you feel now?’ ‘I feel a shivering all over my body,’ said Rousseau. ‘Give me your hands, and try to warm me. . . . Ah! how agreeable that warmth is! You warm me; but still I feel those pains . . . They are very sharp!’ She asked him to take some remedy. ‘My dear wife,’ was his only answer, ‘oblige me by opening those windows, that once again I may have the happiness of seeing the green grass. . . . How beautiful it is! What a pure and serene day this is! Oh, how great is nature!’ ‘But why say all that, good friend, just now?’ demanded Madame Rousseau. ‘My dear wife,’ said he, quietly, ‘I have always asked of God that I might die before you. My wishes are fulfilled. See that sun, whose smiling aspect seems to call me to him! Do you behold that immense light? There is God; yes, God himself, who opens his bosom to me, and at last invites me to taste that eternal and unalterable peace which I have much desired. . . . My dear wife, weep not! You have always wished to see me

happy. I am about to be so. Leave me not. I wish that you alone may remain with me, and that you alone may close my eyes. . . . I feel within my breast violent pains, as though caused by sharp pins . . . My dear wife, if ever I have given you trouble—if, in linking you to my fate, I have exposed you to misfortunes which you would not have known if left to yourself, I ask you to pardon me.' 'It is I, my good friend,' said she, 'who ought, on the contrary, to ask your forgiveness, for moments of disquietude of which I have been the cause to you.' . . . 'Ah, my dear wife, how happy it is to die when one has nothing wherewith to reproach one's-self! Eternal Being! The soul which I am about to render to thee is as pure and innocent as when it issued from thee; make it to partake of thy felicity. . . . My wife, I have found in Monsieur and Madame de Girardin friends tender and true as a father and a mother. Tell them that I honoured their virtues, and that I thank them for all the kindnesses with which they have laden me. I charge you, after my death, to have my body opened by men of science, and I desire that they may give their evidence of the condition in which they find all

parts of my body. Tell Monsieur and Madame de Girardin that I beg to be buried in their garden, and that I have no choice as to the spot.' . . . At last, seeing his wife's grief, Rousseau consented to take some remedy, in answer to her entreaties : but these were not administered, for the moment after he had said 'I will, if it give you pleasure.' . . . 'Ah!' he cried, 'I feel a frightful shock in my head! Pincers which rend me! . . . Being of beings! . . . God!' (He remained a long time with his eyes fixed on the sky) then he said : 'My dear wife! let us embrace each other. Help me to walk.' (He strove to rise from his seat, but his weakness was extreme). 'Lead me to my bed,' cried he. His wife sustained him with difficulty, until he had lain down there. He remained some moments in silence, and then he wished to sit up again. His wife helped him to do so; he fell in the middle of the room, dragging her down with him. She strove to raise him; she found him without speech, and without movement. She cried out aloud; some people ran to her; the door was broken open; Rousseau was raised from the ground. His wife took his hand; he pressed hers; he breathed a sigh, and

died. Eleven o'clock struck. Twenty-four hours after his death, Rousseau's body was opened. All the parts were perfectly healthy. No cause of death was found but a sanguineous and serous effusion from the brain." *

Rousseau was 66 years old when he died. He was born in July, and he died in July. The Marquis de Girardin caused his body to be embalmed and enclosed in a double case of oakwood. With his own hands the Marquis assisted to dig Rousseau's grave. On Saturday, the 4th of July, at midnight, Rousseau was buried in a lonely and lovely spot of the grounds belonging to the Marquis de Girardin. This spot had been called the "Isle of Poplars," but afterwards its name was changed to "The Enchanted Isle."

Two Genevese citizens assisted at Rousseau's midnight funeral, with the Marquis de Girardin. He was laid in the earth with his face turned towards the rising sun. On his grave was this inscription :

"Here lies J. J. Rousseau,
The Man of Nature and of Truth."

Notwithstanding the French noble's faith in

* This contemporary account quite disproves the report that Rousseau poisoned himself.

Rousseau—notwithstanding Rousseau's prophecy that the rebellion in America, which his pen had helped to foster, was the harbinger of revolution in France, none of the men who laid Rousseau in his grave—French Marquis of Versailles, nor Genevese citizens—foresaw the coming time when no grave, whether of monarch, prelate, or philosopher, would be respected; when the dead would not be allowed to rest either in the temple built by man's hands, and consecrated to the worship of God, or in the grave unconsecrated but by nature, whose song is one of continual praise. What mattered this time to Louis XV., unembalmed, in the royal vaults of St. Denis, or to Rousseau, embalmed, in the "Enchanted Isle?"

The summer of 1778 brought back a love of nature to the Queen at Versailles. She foresook the gambling-table, by which she had endeavoured to beguile the period of her maternal expectation (which period mistaken sanitary precautions rendered wearisome in the 18th century), and betook herself, in company with the ladies of her court, to the terraces of Versailles. There, late in the summer nights, her Majesty enjoyed the cool air, the sight of the large trees in the park below, and the fragrance of the flowers

near to her. But Paris had begun to gossip about Versailles, and to cavil at the Queen. Of this we have already seen more than one instance. Calumny against the great, once let loose, is a torrent which sweeps down all before it.

The Princesse de Lamballe refused to join the Queen's nocturnal promenades on the terraces of Versailles. "I excused myself," says the Princesse, "on the plea of my health, although the Queen had told me that the Princesse Elizabeth was glad to be of her party. I was bold enough to tell her Majesty how happy I should be if, by caution and reserve, she would frustrate the malice of her enemies, and not supply them with the occasion of a lie against her. But I could not dissuade the Queen from her night walks. She despised all censure, which she knew was unjust, as I did, though I feared it for her. There were always too many people near the Queen, who, afraid of thwarting her, were ready to encourage her in acting imprudently. Of this number was the Abbé de Vermond, her former tutor. The Queen told me one day, when the Abbé was present, that she did not feel well. Anxious to seize all opportunities of dissuading her from her nocturnal prome-

nades, I attributed her illness to her having exposed herself, in thin garments, to the night air. 'Eh ! mon dieu !' cried the Abbé, 'then do you wish, madame, that her Majesty should be always compressed by steel armour, like a marshal about to besiege a fortress ? For pity's sake, Princesse, now that her Majesty has shaken off the yoke of "Madame l'Étiquette" (de Noailles), let her have the pleasure of wearing a simple robe, and of breathing the air at any hour she pleases, in spite of gothic absurdities. Such has always been her custom ; such is the custom still of her august mother, the Queen-Empress Maria Theresa. Thanks be to heaven that I shall never be king of France, since that honour involves slavery to tyrannical conventions.' 'But, sir,' I replied, 'what would you do if you, being king of France, found that the nation, whose destinies were confided to you, required of you, in return for so great a trust, some respect for its customs and manners ? I am an Italian by birth, but I renounced my country's mode of thinking and of acting from the moment I set foot upon French ground.' 'As I did,' said Marie Antoinette. 'I know you did, madame,' I ventured to continue ; 'but I presume to address

myself to your Majesty's former preceptor, because I desire that he, still honoured by your friendship, should see these things from the same point of view as I do. "At Rome let us act as the Romans." Germany has not yet given birth to a regicide Bertrand de Gordon—to a de Ravailac, or a Damiens. Sovereigns of France cannot be too circumspect in maintaining rigid custom and ancient etiquette, for thereby they command the respect of a vivacious, impressionable, and impulsive people."

A similar remark to this of the Princesse de Lamballe had the Queen herself addressed to her brother, the Emperor Joseph, when he had visited her at Versailles the preceding year. But its truth, although easy to express in theory, was more difficult for the Queen to practise, her Austrian Majesty being as vivacious and impulsive as were the people over whom she reigned. Marie Antoinette, therefore, disregarded the remonstrances of the Princesse de Lamballe, whose prognostications proved only too true. The Queen of France, the loving wife of her husband, and about to become the mother of his child, was accused of having assignations under the cover of darkness. Absurd,

and impossible as was this vulgar slander, it gained ground in Paris, which began to lay its hands, unhesitatingly, on sacred things.

"After having enjoyed these night promenades for about a month," says Madame Campan, who was present at them, "the Queen desired to have a private concert in the enclosure of the colonnade where the group of Pluto and Proserpine stands. Private sentinels were placed at the entries of this grove, and the watchword prevented anybody being admitted but with a ticket signed by my father-in-law. The musicians of the chapel, and the musicians of the Queen's chamber, gave a very fine concert. The Queen repaired thither with Mesdames de Polignac, de Chalon, d'Andlau, and three gentlemen of her court; also, some equerries. Her Majesty permitted me to assist at this concert with my relations. . . . The crowd of the curious, kept back by the private sentinels, retired very discontented, and afterwards the most revolting reports were circulated on the subject of this private nocturnal concert. Many people wished to enjoy it." The small number of people admitted occasioned jealousy, which resulted in such offensive scandal, that, a few days before the Queen's ac-

couchement, a whole volume of seditious and ribald songs, in manuscript, was thrown into the Œil de Bœuf at Versailles.* This manuscript was instantly taken to the King, who was extremely indignant at the disloyal and disgusting rhymes it contained against the Queen; and, whilst manifesting towards her more affection and respect than ever, his Majesty publicly announced that he himself had been present at the night promenades and the midnight concert, although it was his Majesty's general custom to retire to rest as the clock struck eleven. Not so the Queen's. Full of life and youth, fond of innocent pleasures, and warmly attached to her friends the Princesse de Lamballe, and Madame Jules de Polignac, Marie Antoinette entered into the amusements of her sex, station, and age, with a zest which was in itself a sign of a conscience free of offence. The King ap-

* From such wretched and seditious MSS. as this the pamphlets of the Revolution were compiled. The party of Madame du Barry was still strong enough in France to outrage the Queen, in return for her Majesty's having exiled her from Court immediately on her accession. Madame du Barry lived to be sorry for past sin and enmity; and when the Revolution came, she offered her house as a shelter to Queen Marie Antoinette. The offer was declined, although it was not unappreciated; but, in the meanwhile, the scum of political and party feud had floated over into England through the press.

proved of her Majesty's mode of life, although it was not congenial to his own shyness, his love of retirement, his mechanical and scientific pursuits, and the strict routine by which his daily life was guided. Never was a French king so virtuous as Louis XVI. Never was a French queen more innocent than was Marie Antoinette, nor more formed by nature to command the adoration of an enthusiastic people, for whose love she craved. Yet never before had the city of Paris dared to (openly) insult the Court at Versailles. What did this fact portend? The people of Paris were not habitually excluded from Versailles. The rulers of France, in the 18th century—and especially this King and Queen, who were born to be the victims of preceding reigns and centuries of accumulating evil and corruption—lived a great part of their time in the presence of their subjects. They dined in public; they drove in public. The public was admitted to the fêtes of Versailles, and even permitted to behold the Queen when she was engaged in private amusement. Yet, by a strange paradox, never were rulers assailed by envy, hatred, and malice as were this young King and Queen, who had just gratified popular enthusiasm by open alliance with

the American cause of liberty. Surely there is a destiny in nations as in individuals! Even when the Queen gambled at Versailles and at Marly, Paris was allowed to look on. At Marly, especially, her Majesty, and the ladies and gentlemen of her court, were visible, dressed in rich costumes, as shows for the people, and decked with jewels which the Queen was only too glad to discard when in seclusion at Trianon.

“In the evening, to be admitted to see the Queen’s game, it was merely required to be well dressed, and presented by an officer of the court to the door-keeper of the room set apart for play.* This *salon* was of octagonal form, and very vast—raised to the height of the Italian roof; the cupola was surrounded by balconies, where women not presented to the Queen easily gained places, from whence they could enjoy the sight of that brilliant company.” There, below, stood Marie Antoinette, that lovely vision, which the Englishman, Edmund Burke, once having looked upon, never forgot †

* APPENDIX A.

† Hazlitt has remarked that Burke, who, in after years, eloquently advocated the cause of Marie Antoinette, “so dazzled the ignorant and the learned by his *tropes* and figures of speech, that they could not distinguish the shades between liberty and

The impression the Queen of France made upon him he has already himself described in this work.

"It was in 1779," says Madame le Brun, the artist, in her *Mémoires*, "that I first painted the portrait of the Queen, then in the flower of her youth and beauty. Marie Antoinette was tall, exquisitely well made, sufficiently plump, without being too much so. Her arms were superb, her hands small, perfect in form, and her feet charming. Her gait was more graceful than any woman in France; she held her head very erect, with a majesty which enabled you to distinguish the sovereign amidst all her court, and yet that majesty did not in the least detract from the extreme kindness and benevolence of her look. . . . Her features were not regular; she derived from her family that long, narrow oval peculiar to the Austrian nation. Her eyes were not large; their colour was nearly blue, and they had an intellectual, mild expression; her nose was thin and handsome, her mouth not too large, though the lips were rather thick. But the most remarkable thing about her face was the licentiousness, between anarchy and despotism." The dark and perverse destiny of Marie Antoinette seemed to affect and to overshadow everybody brought into contact with her, and even Burke was not an exception to the general rule.

brilliancy of her complexion. I never saw any so brilliant—yes, brilliant is the word—for her skin was too transparent to take any shade. . . . I lacked colours to represent that freshness, those delicate tones, which belonged exclusively to that fascinating face. . . . As for her conversation, it would be difficult for me to describe all its grace, all its benevolence. I do not think that Marie Antoinette ever missed an occasion of saying an agreeable thing to those who had the honour of approaching her. . . . I ventured to remark to the Queen how much the erectness of her head heightened the dignity of her look. She answered in a tone of pleasantry : ‘ If I were not a Queen, people would say that I had an insolent look, would they not ? ’ ”

Near the Queen, in the presence of the people, stood the Princesse de Lamballe, and the Countess (afterwards Duchesse) de Polignac. We have already considered the Princesse de Lamballe. She has told us how her friendship with the Queen began.

The Duchesse de Polignac—of evil omen to royalty—first attracted the Queen’s notice at a ball at Versailles. The Queen wondered how it was that the sight of one so young and graceful was

unfamiliar to her ; and, approaching the Duchesse, she asked her why she was not presented to her on her marriage with the Dauphin in 1770. Madame de Polignac answered that she was too poor to make a suitable appearance upon such an occasion. The Queen was touched by this confession, and by the frankness with which it was uttered, and from that moment took Madame de Polignac into her especial favour.

“Madame de Polignac,” says one who knew her, “was not strictly beautiful, but an enchanting smile, fine brown eyes full of benevolence, a grace and that nameless charm, *je ne sais quoi*, which revealed itself in every movement, made her remarkable even amongst the most beautiful. . . Her conversation was naïve ; all that she said was impressed by the seductive charm of truth. . . She did not love dress ; her usual costume was remarkable for nothing but freshness and good taste. . . I do not think I ever saw her in diamonds, even at the height of her good fortune. She was of middle height. . . . Good, unambitious, equal in temper, inaccessible to jealousy. . . . Madame de Polignac has enjoyed the highest

favour, without ever having shown any of the ordinary defects of a favourite.”*

But a monarch's favourite proverbially costs a people dear, and Paris murmured loudly against the favour accorded by the Queen to the Duchesse de Polignac. At Versailles, also, the friendship of the Queen for the Duchesse de Polignac occasioned much malevolence. In courts, one favourite makes many enemies. As the Princesse de Lamballe observes, “It is really a singular fatality in the life of Marie Antoinette that she can do nothing, even in the most benevolent and disinterested spirit, without being attacked by censure. She possessed, however, a tenacity of character which made her persist in strengthening the ties of an attachment, in proportion to any effort that was made by others to loosen those ties.”†

Paris gossip comments (April, 1779)—

“Everybody knows the affection of the Queen for Madame Jules de Polignac; it is notorious that

* The ruins of the antique Château de Polignac still exist at Notre Dame du Puy, in Velay. There, upon rocky heights, it stands, the gloomy remnant of a feudal past. It is uninhabited but by the bat and the owl. The shield of De Polignac was simple; originally only surmounted by a Viscount's coronet, and “Fascé d'argent et de gueules.”

† Mems. Lamballe, tome i., p. 254.

from her the Queen caught the measles; so that, both being ill, they did not see each other for some time. Madame Jules has written to the Queen that now, being convalescent, she desires to have the honour of paying her court to her Majesty. . . . The Queen has answered: 'Doubtless of the two, anxious to embrace each other, I am the one most so; therefore, I will come and dine with you on Sunday in Paris.' . . .

"Sunday. . . . At one o'clock the Queen entered the Rue de Bourbon, where her favourite lives, and dined there *tête-à-tête* with her, remaining until five o'clock, when her Majesty left. . . . All Paris, informed of the Queen's visit to Madame Jules, inundated the street, awaiting the time of the Queen's departure. . . . A thousand conjectures are formed as to what can be the august secrets which Royalty confides to the bosom of friendship."*

The Princesse de Lamballe is generous enough to excuse the familiarity with which the Queen treats the Duchesse de Polignac, her rival in her Majesty's favour.

"The Queen," says the Princesse, "was naturally gay, lively, and fond of pleasing all who sur-

* Mems. Bachaumont.

rounded her ; she therefore sometimes compromised her dignity without knowing or feeling that she had done so." The Princesse de Lamballe wrote this when she, the best friend of the Queen, had begun to mourn the consequences of this light-hearted thoughtlessness on the part of her royal mistress—when dark and terrible times had set in ; it is in a mournful spirit, therefore, that she adds : "Irreproachable though the reciprocal attachment was between the Queen and the Duchesse, how much it is to be wished that it had never existed ! . . . Long did I foresee the consequences of it, without being able to make her Majesty dread them. . . . Fearing that my anxiety on the point might be attributed to jealousy, I often kept silence when even it was my duty to speak."

The Queen delighted in casting off the trammels of her rank, and, arrayed in the simplest costume, in amusing herself as though utterly forgetful of her queenship.

The King's aunts, tenacious of ancient customs and costumes, protested against these innovations. That they should have lived to see a seditious American printer at Versailles, and the Queen of France, dressed or undressed, like the Nouvelle

Héloïse, the heroine of a Swiss republican's novel! These princesses—antique remnants of the feudal past—had a glimmering of the truth which the Swiss republican had expressed . . . that the rebellion in the New World would result in a revolution in the Old World.

But, when the winter of 1778 had closed in, and Christmas was at hand, even these maiden princesses shared the general excitement as to the event concerning which they had, some months before, declared the Queen to be wanting in dignity and decency. The hour of the Queen's *accouchement* drew near.

The Count d'Artois (a kind brother to Marie Antoinette when she first came to France, and wanted friends, although surrounded by flatterers) was anxious as to how this event would affect the interests of his own child. His son, the Duc d'Angoulême, had hitherto been regarded as heir to the throne. He could not but remember the Queen's generous devotion to his wife when that child was born, and when her Majesty was rebuked by the *poissardes* for being childless; but it was not in human nature—to say nothing of the nature of princes—for the Count d'Artois to desire

that the Queen should give birth to a Dauphin, as was her own most earnest wish and prayer. The duties of the Princesse de Lamballe, and her love for the Queen, both dictated her constant attendance upon her Majesty during this period of anxious expectation. To the Princesse de Lamballe we are indebted for the following account of that hour to which many at Versailles looked forward with hope and dread :—

“On the 19th of December, 1778, the Queen reached the moment which she had ardently desired. She was about to be a mother. It had been agreed between her Majesty and myself that I should keep close to the *accoucheur*, Vermond (brother of the Abbé, whom her Majesty honoured with her favour), so that I might be the first to recognize the sex of the child. If a Dauphin, I was to say in Italian: ‘*Il figlio è nato!*’ Her Majesty was disappointed in her dearest wish. She brought forth a girl. At the moment when Vermond cried, ‘The Queen is happily delivered!’ the crowd precipitated itself into the room, and her Majesty was almost suffocated. I thought she had fainted. I held one of her hands, and cried: ‘*La Regina è andata!*’ She thought she heard me

say *nato* instead of *andata*, and she believed herself the mother of a Dauphin. The joy, probably, as well as the heat of the room, occasioned by the crowd, caused her to swoon. Overwhelmed by the sight of my royal mistress in danger, I was myself carried out, fainting, from the room."

Here Madame Campan steps in and tells us that the King, alarmed at the sight of the Queen's insensibility, himself pushed open the heavily barred windows, which were secured also with extra bands to exclude the cold, with a strength that only terror could give him. The *accoucheur* cried out: "Air! Hot water! Her Majesty's foot must be bled." The *accoucheur* told the first surgeon to lance her Majesty's foot. The blood appeared quickly, and the Queen opened her eyes. The valets de chambre and the door-keepers cleared the room.* The Princesse de Lamballe had been carried out through the crowd fainting and unconscious. The Queen came back from the gates of death. Joy now took the place of fear.

* This cruel custom of letting in the crowd was henceforth abolished. In future the princes of the royal family, and of the blood, the Chancellor, and the Ministers, were sufficient to guarantee the birth of an hereditary prince in France.—Mems. Campan.

“ . . . The Prince de Poix, and Count Esterhazy,” says Madame Campan, “to whom I was the first to announce that the Queen was recalled to life, inundated me with tears of joy, and embraced me in the midst of a cabinet of nobles.”

“When the Queen recovered consciousness,” resumes Madame de Lamballe, “the King was the first to announce to her that she was the mother of a charming princess.”

“I am like my mother, then,” said her Majesty, “for at my birth she also would have preferred a son ; and you,” she added to the King, “have lost your wager !” (The King had betted with Maria Theresa that the Queen would give birth to a prince.)

The King replied by those lines which Metastasio had made for the Empress Maria Theresa when Marie Antoinette was born :

“Io perdei ; l'angusta figlia,
A pagar m'a condannato ;
M'a s'è ver che a voi somiglia,
Tutto il mondo ha guadagnato.”

The Queen pressed her newly-born infant to her. “Poor little thing!” she said, “you were not desired, but you are not the less dear ; a son would have belonged to the State. You are all my own.” Months before this event, the *Te Deum* had been sung,

and prayers had been offered up for the Queen's safe delivery. Now, the thanks of the Church caused the roof of Notre Dame to echo, but the people did not heartily join in the responses. Young girls were dowered by their majesties, and married in Paris, according to the ancient custom of France on the birth of a prince or princess. When the Queen made her entry into Paris to return thanks in public, she was received in that city with less enthusiasm than if she had given birth to a dauphin. At the Opera, however, she was warmly greeted. Gluck was there. Gratitude to heaven for the birth of her child softened Marie Antoinette's heart towards her enemies. She consented that Madame la Princesse de Guémenée should be appointed *gouvernante* to the infant princess. Madame de Guémenée was in the confidence of the King's aunts, and was one of the court party originally opposed to the Austrian alliance, from the intrigues of which party the Queen had suffered much, as we have seen. The Princesse de Guémenée was one, also, who was reported to have sung psalms with the late Dauphin, father of Louis XVI.; her appointment, therefore, was more pleasing to the Church than to the people.

It seems to have revived the hopes of the Curé de St. Sulpice, who had excommunicated Voltaire upon his deathbed.

By order of the Curé, the charity children of St. Sulpice worked a wonderful quilt, wherewith to cover the infant Princesse in her cradle; and the baptism of "the royal babe" (named Maria Theresa Charlotte) was performed with great pomp and ceremony. The Queen was too full of love for her child to see the political importance of all this at the moment. She clasped her infant to her breast, in the presence of the Princesse de Lamballe, and again cried: "Child! thou art a woman! As such thou art altogether mine; thou belongest to me, and not to the nation!"

The Count d'Artois sympathised readily in the Queen's joy. He congratulated himself that as yet there was no Dauphin.*

* See APPENDIX M.

CHAPTER II.

Jesuits and Oratorians—Different Effects of Jesuit and Oratorian teaching in France—King Frederick's "Pantheon"—Voltaire and King Frederick on Original Sin—The Sorbonne—New School of Philosophy—Education of the King and Queen of France—The Pulpit in France—French Preachers—Fénélon—Bossuet—Massillon—Bridaine—Comparative consequences of Jesuit and Oratorian preaching—A new generation in England and in France—Decrease of faith in France—Increase of superstition in France—The mystic Count de St. Germain, Minister of War—Previous life of the Count de St. Germain—Malesherbes—Philosophy in the Cabinet of Versailles—St. Germain's introduction of Prussian tactics into the French army—Abolition of Royal household troops at Versailles—French delight at Prussian Reform in the French army—The Queen and the Count de St. Germain—France craves for miracles—Medicine in France and in Prussia—Royal edict in favour of the Faculty in France—Death of the Prince de Conti—David Hume's letter on the death of the Prince de Conti—Cast taken after death—Allegorical Picture—Report on Electricity in

France, 1778—Science a bond of sympathy between the King of France and Dr. Franklin—Captain Cook—Edict of Louis XVI. in favour of Captain Cook—Edict of Dr. Franklin in favour of Captain Cook—Dr. Anthony Mesmer in Paris—Previous History of Dr. Mesmer—Parisian popularity of Dr. Mesmer—Dr. Mesmer's demands of Versailles—Dr. Mesmer and Dr. Franklin at Passy—Cagliostro in Paris—Cardinal Prince de Rohan at Trianon—Previous history of Cagliostro—Popularity of Cagliostro in Paris—The true story of "the Queen's Necklace"—Autograph (unpublished) letters of Cagliostro—Comparison between French society in the *Moyen-Age* and French society in the eighteenth century—Curious geographical charts of the fourteenth century in the Bibliothèque Impériale—Sisters of the Sacred Heart—Original autograph letter of the Abbess de St. Remy.

REVERENCE for the Church, and popular enthusiasm for the services of the Church, had gradually declined in France, since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1762. The Jesuits had been the teachers of the people, and as such, by a strange paradox, they had cradled philosophers and Encyclopédistes. Voltaire, long after he had verified the prediction of his Jesuit tutor (Father le Jay), by becoming "the Chief of Deism" in France, kept up a learned and friendly correspondence with various members of "the Society of Jesus," and especially with that eruditè Jesuit, the Abbé

Porée, to whom he vowed "the tenderest friendship, the truest gratitude."

When the Jesuits were expelled from France, because of their intermeddling with the temporal affairs of the State, the education of the people devolved upon the Oratorians. The Oratorians had but a limited reverence for the Pope; many of them were Jansenists, and leagued in opinion with the Parliaments, which, in the late quarrels of the Church concerning the Bull *Unigenitus* (or absolute power of the priesthood for life and death), had erected themselves into an anti-papal legislature. After twenty years (in 1778), the teaching of the Oratorians made itself felt in France. A new generation had sprung up, doubting of traditions in Church and State; which traditions had, a score of years before, been believed infallible, invulnerable, and invincible.*

* King Frederick "the Great" was, to the new generation, the practical exponent of what philosophy called "Spiritual Liberalism;" or, as the Pope declared, of rank heresy. This Protestant hero had designed for his own capital a vast "Pantheon," which was to be consecrated equally to all religions. To this Pantheon every man could come and worship in public according to his own belief, be he Mussulman, Jew, or Christian of any denomination whatever. The architectural plan of this universal temple did much credit to the royal classical, or, as priests declared, heathenish taste. Its form was circular. The

The University was the fountain-head of all instruction in France.* Formerly it had taught the exclusive doctrines of the Church, and had upheld the sacred rights of the Crown. In the University,

plan (though afterwards executed on a smaller model for Catholics at Berlin) was—being before its time—reluctantly laid aside by the philosophic monarch. As critical author (a character more emulated by Frederick than that of brave soldier), the King of Prussia endeavoured to reform the Protestant Psalms; but, as the attempt nearly excited a revolt in Berlin—bigotry not being exclusively Romish—the royal critic declared:—"Each man may believe what he likes in my kingdom, and he may sing what he likes, even in the book of canticles. . . . '*Maintenant toutes les forêts reposent,*' or any other solecism; only, let priests observe TOLERATION, for no intolerance will be tolerated by me." It is remarkable that Voltaire defended the doctrine of original sin against King Frederick of Prussia. "Theologians I have always respected," wrote the heretic King; "God save me, poor pigmy, from measuring my strength with the Titans. . . . As to original sin, that you protect so strongly, if you find it amusing to be born wicked, I do not care to rob you of that innocent pleasure. . . . Only let us make a little treaty; for two ages let human nature be reared in a suitable climate, according to nature, reason, and conscience, and at the end of those two ages let us revisit the world, and look human nature in the face;—I will tell you then what I think of your original sin."—*Conseils du Trône.*

* The French University musters some of the most illustrious names in literature and science through succeeding generations. Rollin (who died in 1741) was three times elected Rector of the University of Paris. During the time that he was Professor of History there, Rollin gave a new impulse to French thought, and helped to mould the future of the world by the study of the past.

the Sorbonne, which embraced theology, held the highest place; every scholar destined for the priesthood was not only compelled to submit an essay, showing his powers of argument, to the Doctors of the Sorbonne, but also to undergo a rigid examination of that reverend and learned body, before passing out into the world to proclaim the infallible power of the Church of Rome to save or to destroy. The consecutive reading of some of these essays, written during the last half of the eighteenth century, shows, better than anything else can do, the gradual ascendancy of rationalism over Faith, after the Jesuits were cast out from the University of France, and the Oratorians were let in. Another mission of the Sorbonne was to examine all books published of a religious and philosophical character. It was in the execution of this mission, in the middle of the eighteenth century, that Jesuits came into notoriously violent collision with Encyclopédistes. But now, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when Oratorians had usurped the place of Jesuits, when philosophy was seated in the King's Cabinet, and when Encyclopédistes, long proscribed, had returned to France, from which Jesuits were cast out, liberty of con-

science was fast being perverted into licentiousness of opinion. Severe restraints of long duration once removed, there is always danger of an overwhelming reaction.

Little Abbés now were proud of introducing little impieties into their essays. When the Abbé de Prade had attempted to do so in 1751, he was obliged to flee from the Jesuit Doctors of the Sorbonne into Holland (and eventually, by the recommendation of Voltaire and the Marquis d'Argens, was made reader to the King of Prussia).*

The Sorbonne, at the time of the American war, still continued its mission of denouncing certain works; but how, with new censors, of Jansenist sympathies, under an old system, concerning which they taught youth to reason, could the Sorbonne exactly define any longer where orthodoxy ended and heterodoxy began? When the French Revolution broke out, a great number of Oratorians took an active part in it, and formed the mass of priests who took the oath.

The spirit of resistance to constituted authority grew rapidly in France, after her espousing the cause of America. Louis XVI. had, as we have

* Secret History of the Court of France. Vol. i., p. 286. London, 1861.

seen, been educated in the spirit of implicit obedience to the Church, and according to antique traditions. The Queen also, although the natural vivacity of her character made her impatient of restraint. Voltaire's last visit to Paris has revealed how the capital was pulling one way and the court another, in matters of faith, in 1778. The pulpit was on the decline. Twenty years before, at the time when the Court was most dissolute in morals, the pulpit was the gathering point of the noblesse and of the people. Preachers, even in the reign of Louis XIV., denounced sin from the pulpit of Versailles, as did the fervent and pious curé to the inhabitants of any distant province, part of whose traditional creed was, that the King could do no wrong. The meek Fénélon censured unjust government under the garb of allegory in "Telemachus" (after reading which work, Louis XIV. quaintly said : "I had never much opinion of the author's ability, but I was not before aware of his moral depravity.")

The pulpit was the only power in France which, in former times, assumed to level social classes and worldly distinctions ; but so deeply was every class imbued with feudal prejudices, that even the

preacher could not always divest himself of them. For example :

Massillon,* the son of a poor provincial notary, and an Oratorian, in the time when Oratorians were kept in subjection by the Jesuits, declaimed against sin in face of the Court, and openly published his "*Petit Carême*," professedly to rebuke self-indulgence, and to call all people to fasting and to repentance; but, although the duties of *les grands* (especially that of example) are alluded to by Massillon, it seems to be assumed throughout his work that the aristocracy are of different clay from the common people.

Father Bridaine,† who came afterwards, was fearless. Although a Jesuit of Avignon, he renounced in his own person the glory of this world. Arrayed in his preacher's garb, he went on distant and dangerous missions, walking through the earth, proclaiming eternity, whether of weal or woe, of hope or terror, equally to all men. Bridaine asked: "Brethren, do you know what is

* Massillon; born June 24th, 1663; died September 18th, 1742. He wrote his "*Petit Carême*" in 1718, and was received a member of the French Academy in 1719.

† Jacques Bridaine; born 1701; died 1767. Bridaine never wrote his sermons, but trusted, like the Apostles of old, to the inspiration of the moment.

Eternity? It is a clock, of which the pendulum says, and unceasingly repeats, only these two words in the silence of the tomb, 'Ever! Never!' 'Never! Ever!' And, during awful circumvolutions of endless Time, the voice of a condemned sinner asks: 'What time is it?' And another voice answers—'Eternity!'"

But the Jesuits, although thus infusing terror into their system of national education through the Church, insinuated themselves into the early love of those who afterwards opposed their exclusive doctrines. The unquestioned assumption of power over body and soul, on the part of the Jesuit master, impressed young France in past times with awe-stricken veneration for its tutor. The Oratorian teacher, allowing argument and admitting doubt, commanded not such fervent disciples among the young as his predecessor the Jesuit had done. Neither, strange to say, did Genius manifest itself equally under the Oratorian as under the Jesuit tutor.

Eighteenth century philosophy in France was the fruit of antagonism to the system which had nurtured its learning; but we see even Voltaire, the chief of philosophers, the "leader of Deism," the

champion of emancipated reason, whilst opposing his power of argument to the system which had developed that power, declaring his love and respect for the individual Jesuit, who was the representative of that system. When Paris deified Voltaire, a new generation had sprung up, which knew not the Jesuits; just as in England a new generation had sprung up which knew not the Stuarts, except as tyrannical objects of abhorrence. The State had not twenty years before expelled the Jesuits from France. The people of France now were beginning to think that they could do without the State. Irreverence grew daily. Therefore the sight of Queen Marie Antoinette rendering thanks for the birth of her first child, and the sound of the *Te Deum* echoing in the cathedral of Notre Dame, were coldly regarded and listened to by Paris, just one year after the date of France's alliance with America in the war for Liberty. In proportion as faith decreased, superstition increased.

The mystic Count de St. Germain had been appointed Minister of War in 1775, on the death of Marshal Mury. Of all men in the world the Count de St. Germain was the strangest to be destined to cement the strength of Protestants and

Puritans. The Count de St. Germain, although distinguished in war and diplomacy, was either one of the greatest wonders, or the greatest charlatans, the world has ever known.* From generation to generation he was seen still young. He was be-

* Thé biographies of the Count de St. Germain do not clear up the mystery in which his origin is involved, but the *Journal d'un Observateur* " gives something like a rational account of his antecedents at the time of his appointment in 1775. "He is an Alsatian gentleman. In his youth he was a Jesuit, and was even professed. He quitted that order to be lieutenant and afterwards captain of militia. It is said that he then passed successively into the service of the Elector Palatine, of the House of Austria, and of the Emperor Charles VII. From the last service he returned into France, to fight under Marshal Saxe, who made a particular exception in permitting him to do so. The Count St. Germain then rose to different military ranks, had the *cordon rouge* presented to him, and was on the eve of becoming Marshal of France, when his quarrels with the Duc de Broglie disgusted him, and determined him to accept the offers of the late King of Denmark. The present King of Denmark having thanked him with a considerable pecuniary acknowledgment, M. de St. Germain placed a hundred thousand crowns of ready money with the Hamburg banker—bankrupt. . . . " More than twenty years after the above notice of this soldier of fortune, ex-Jesuit and mystic diplomatist, Madame de Genlis tells us that the Prince of Hesse, brother-in-law to the King of Denmark, informed her that, during the revolution, the Count de St. Germain arrived at Holstein unattended, and made chemical experiments with him (the Prince of Hesse) there. St. Germain soon afterwards died of consumption. His terror of death was so great, that its approach deprived him of reason.

lieved to possess the elixir of eternal youth. General Yorke, writing of the Count de St. Germain in one of his secret despatches to Lord Holdernessee, during the Seven Years' War, calls him "this Phenomenon Man;" but the cause of the interview between General Yorke and the Phenomenon Man at the Hague, being a matter of secret diplomacy on the part of the latter, points to the source from whence much of St. Germain's mysterious knowledge, as far as politics were concerned, was derived. St. Germain was a political agent. As such, it suited the purpose of princes and potentates to encourage his occult pretensions; but not even the favour which it was to the interest of courts to confer could account for his extreme longevity, and perpetual youth and strength. His wealth at one time was enormous. General Yorke mentions that fact, also, to Lord Holdernessee, during the Seven Years' War. In the interval between that time and 1775, when he was appointed War Minister, the philosopher's stone had not produced gold, or else St. Germain was an impostor when he wrote to Cardinal de Rohan (the protector of Cagliostro), to beg the charitable consideration of his eminence towards a worthy member of his (St.

Germain's) household, he being too poor to pension those who had served him well.

For some time before his appointment, St. Germain had been in retreat. During the last war he was suspected of being disaffected to France, in favour of Frederick of Prussia. What country gave birth to St. Germain nobody knew. He was supposed to be the unacknowledged offspring of some royal house in the centre of Europe. He was a great linguist and painter. His collection of pictures was one of the wonders of the reign of Louis XV. Since then, as before said, fortune had been fickle to the mystic count, although time still spared him to re-appear at Versailles as though not a day older than when he was there in the time of Madame de Pompadour.

"M. de St. Germain," we are told, "was in his garden, dressed in a greatcoat and red night-cap, when the Abbé Dubois came to announce his appointment to him. When he heard that he was made Minister of War, he cried: 'Is this another dream of mine?' and started at once for Fontainebleau, scarcely allowing himself time to take off his night-cap.*

* It is observable here, as a sign of philosophy growing para-

The year after (1776), St. Germain had succeeded in effecting a reform in the French army, and had introduced into it many of the tactics of the King of Prussia. Also, he had engaged M. le Baron de Holtzendorff, formerly in the service of King Frederick, to publish a translation in French of his "Elements of Military Tactics, geometrically demonstrated." This Prussian reform gave great pleasure to the people of France. "The Minister of War has been very glad," says the *Journal d'un Observateur*, "to reveal to daylight, through a man skilled in war, and formed under the King of Prussia, the profound theory of that great prince upon an art which he has made his chief study since his accession to the throne. This theory ought to be, according to its author, intelligible to the simplest soldier."

St. Germain also occupied himself with the gradual destruction of the military household of the mount in the cabinet of Versailles, that the Count de St. Germain's appointment was due to the recommendation of him to the King by M. de Malesherbes. M. de Malesherbes was formerly a lawyer, and the friend of Necker, in Switzerland. Malesherbes was loyal to the King, although a philosopher—(a brief sketch of his life is elsewhere given in this work). Malesherbes astonished France, and shocked prejudice there, by openly expressing human sympathies even for black men and coloured slaves."

King at Versailles. That the King and Queen of France should voluntarily concur in this abolition of their choicest troops and reserved body-guard, is one of the singular signs of that time of transition ; seeing that, in the last reign, when the turbulent parliaments had been exiled, these household troops were those who arrested the presidents and refractory members ; also, that even lately, in the spring of 1775, when the provincial people, as we have seen, broke into the bakers' shops of Paris, and excited mutiny in the city, these troops were the first to restore tranquillity. Only eighty-eight of these picked men were reserved at Versailles by the new War Minister.

"And why, M. de St. Germain," asked the Queen of him, "do you spare these eighty-eight men ? Do you reserve them to accompany the King when his Majesty goes to hold a bed of justice ?"

"On the contrary, Madame," said St. Germain, "they are reserved as his Majesty's escort when he goes to sing a *Te Deum* for his victories."

St. Germain was popular in more ways than one. He was regarded as a miracle just when Paris and Versailles were thirsting for the marvellous, and when the occult powers which he professed were

64 FRENCH THIRST FOR THE MARVELLOUS.

rendered more in vogue than ever by the appearance in Paris of Dr. Mesmer. This was in 1778, the year of Voltaire's coronation, death, and deification. Preachers were no longer listened to, as in old times, by France; but her soul was restless, with a vague yearning after the superhuman and supernatural. To the excited view of France, in 1778, natural science, beyond her ken, was miraculous. The wonders of electricity paved the way equally for Dr. Mesmer and for Dr. Franklin, and the abuses and disuses of the schools of medicine in France had paved the way for any pretension by which the ills that flesh is heir to might be mitigated.*

In November, 1777, it is recorded that "the Faculty of Medicine, driven forth from its schools, which are falling in ruins . . . not knowing where

* While France, sick from old age, looked inquiringly to science for help, Frederick of Prussia vigorously protested against the power of 'the Faculty.' When Maupertuis was ill in Prussia, spat blood for three months, and was thought to be dying, Fritz sent his own physician to him, with this note:—"I send you the Sieur Cottenins, one of the greatest charlatans of this country; he has had the happiness of sometimes succeeding by chance; and I wish that he may have the same luck with you. He will order you plenty of remedies. For my part, I only forbid you to take liquors, but I do interdict those absolutely."

to hold its assemblies, has presented a petition to the King, demanding the land of the cloister of the hospital of St. James; that hospital having been formerly consecrated to poor pilgrims returning from the Holy Land, and to-day being put to no use."

On the 29th of November, 1777, it is announced that, "since the year 1734, the wealth of St. James's Hospital, as also that of the church, and the hospital for monks, has been confided to an administration; but no profit has yet been derived from it by his Majesty, nor by pilgrims, nor by the poor. Divine service in the church belonging to St. James's Hospital has been continued. . . . By an order of Council, of the 23rd of September, 1733, confirmed by letters patent on the 15th April, 1734, all fresh nominations to these benefices were deferred, with the view of augmenting their revenues, which at that time amounted to 12,000 livres. Since that time the number of incumbents has considerably diminished, and the revenues have increased in proportion, and amount at this day to 50,000 livres. These funds may be employed by the faculty of medicine in the endowment of an hospital, to be consecrated at the same

time for the succour of the sick and for the perfection of medicine; and in this building, also, may be tried certain proposed remedies which are new.”*

Not long before this edict was issued in favour of the faculty of medicine, the Prince de Conti had died, of a *maladie de langueur*. He was the first of the Bourbons, it is said, who had refused to edify the world in his last moments by an open profession of penitence and faith. His obstinacy was attributed by some to displeasure at the pertinacity with which the Archbishop of Paris persisted in thrusting himself upon his notice. The Prince de Conti was the friend of David Hume. One of the last letters ever written by David Hume was the following to Madame de Boufflers, who had long been the idolized companion of the Prince de Conti, and was intimately known to the great historian himself:

“Edinburgh, 20th August, 1776.

• “Though I am certainly within a few weeks, dear Madame, and perhaps within a few days of my own death, I could not forbear being struck with the death of the Prince de Conti—so great a loss in every particular. My reflections carried me immediately to your situation in this melancholy incident. What a difference to you in your whole

* Arrêts de Versailles.

plan of life! Pray, write me some particulars, but in such terms that you need not care, in case of my decease, into whose hands your letter may fall. My distemper is a diarrhoea, which has been gradually undermining me these two years, but, within these six months, has been visibly hastening me to my end. I see death approach gradually without anxiety or regret. I salute you, with great affection and regard, for the last time. DAVID HUME.*

"To Madame de Boufflers."

(Five days after the date of this letter David Hume died.)

After the death of the Prince de Conti, Madame de Boufflers caused a plaister-cast to be taken of his face. The bust executed from this perfectly resembled the Prince, but was awful from the impression of death upon it. In life de Conti (a great patron of art and letters) had been handsome, brave, and beloved. He was mourned as "the last of the Princes," as Brutus was the last of the Romans.† Paris celebrated his death by an allegorical picture, in which, say the wits of that day, "Minerva has neither strength nor dignity, and France is represented as a beautiful woman, but much too young."

* Lettres de Madame du Deffand à Horace Walpole, tome iii., p. 387. Lettres du Deffand, &c., tome iv., p. 306. Strawberry Hill Collection.

Mems. de Genlis, tome ii., p. 206.

On the 9th of January, 1778, the following report was made on electricity :—

“Although the experiments tried, as to whether electricity be a remedy in certain sicknesses, have not been exactly successful, the Royal Faculty of Medicine has not pronounced them absolutely useless, and it has, therefore, instituted fresh experiments, so that probabilities may be changed to facts.”

Dr. Franklin, as we saw when he first arrived in Paris, was venerated there for his discoveries in, and application of, electricity. To him, therefore, the people awarded the credit of the facilities which were now beginning to be enjoyed for the furtherance of all such inquiries as that above named. There is no doubt that a love of science was a bond of union between Louis XVI. and Dr. Franklin, which gave the philosopher free access to the King of France in private, which helped to overcome the King's objection to Franklin as a heretic in religion, and which gave the American philanthropist opportunities of advancing the cause of humanity in familiar conversation with his Majesty. Thus, in the case of Captain Cook, the celebrated navigator, who, in command of two

English ships (the "Resolution" and the "Discovery"), had set sail in July, 1776, to decide the long agitated question of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. When war broke out between France and England, and was openly declared in 1778, Captain Cook was cruising in the western hemisphere, in danger of being taken prisoner by the French, and of having his ships seized or destroyed. Although Captain Cook was an Englishman, Louis XVI. did not regard him as an enemy; but, anxious as to the result of his discoveries, as though France were to have the glory of them, his Majesty issued a circular to all French naval officers, commanding them to abstain from hostility against the ships "Resolution" and "Discovery," and to treat them in all respects as neutral vessels.*

* This decree of Louis XVI. in favour of Captain Cook, was the more generous, because England owed the preservation of Canada from reconquest by the French in the last war to that navigator:—"We owe the conquest of Quebec in September, 1759 (and the cession of all Canada in the autumn, 1760, as its consequence), to General Wolfe, and the gallant little army which he commanded, in which every general was equal to be a chief, and almost every officer to be a general, and every soldier an officer. But it is without any diminution from General Murray in his defence of it in spring, 1760, against the French army which besieged him, to say, that we owe its preservation to Captain Cook. M. Murray's army alone, with all his activity,

Dr. Franklin had also issued a protection for Captain Cook, his ships, and crew, against all American cruisers; and about the same time forwarded a safe pass for the missionaries, known as Moravian Brethren, for the conversion of savages. (That missionaries were needed was proved in 1779, when Captain Cook was killed by the savages of Owhyhee, and devoured.) To the favour accorded to Dr. Franklin, as a man of science, by and high spirit in the command of it, was very incompetent for its defence, against an army so much superior, as that commanded by Monsieur Levy, and the force of a whole country with him, where every man capable of carrying arms was then a soldier. All the hopes of the English were, under Providence, in the aid of a British fleet. The arrival of one was momentarily expected, under the command of Lord Colville; the French also entertained hopes of one from France, and pushed the siege with vigour. When the British fleet had just entered the easternmost entrance of the traverse, the almost only difficult part of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, it was in that moment enveloped in a thick fog, and the pilot of the Admiral's ship, the 'Northumberland,' which led, refused to continue any further charge of it, and insisted upon the necessity of immediately coming to anchor. In this trying, this eminently important exigence, that modesty which was so strikingly characteristic in Mr. Cook, who was then master in her, could not withhold him a moment from the offer of his service—*vicit amor patriæ*. He had surveyed the river the year before, by the command of Sir Charles Saunders, in order to draw that noble chart of it dedicated to him, and published by his order. Attention had been paid by him to the soundings of the traverse, adequate to its importance; he engaged to Lord Colville to carry him safe

the King, who amused himself with science (to the exclusion too often of all other considerations) may be attributed the fact that men of science, and charlatans who aped them, flocked now to France, there to try their experiments and their fortunes. As chief of these celebrities, we must here give place to Dr. Anthony Mesmer. Mesmer was forty-four years old when he appeared in Paris; he was of a noble and imposing presence and demeanour. He was welcome in Paris, just as the Royal Faculty of Medicine there was, as we have seen, experimentalizing on electricity. Mesmer professed to be possessed of a secret which should lay bare all the mechanism and reveal all the mysteries of nature; which should operate upon bodies animate and inanimate; which should prolong life, if not annihilate death altogether; and which should sub-
through it, steering only by the lead; his offer was accepted; early the next morning it cleared up; Captain Dean in the 'Lowestoffe' was the first ship discovered, as well by the French as English, in the basin. Levy first hoped it might be the French—he soon found her to be English. He instantly broke up his camp—marched, or rather fled precipitately to Montreal. Quebec and all Canada, in consequence of it, was preserved to England, and I trust in God will continue with all America, what is or has been hers for ages. For this very important service, Mr. Cook was promoted to a lieutenantcy."—*Political Journal*, 1780, p. 101.

due the will of another to your own. He declared that this great secret was a principle unique, and, at the same time, simple and sublime ; also, that it was a universal principle."

Dr. Franklin, as Turgot said, had "ravished the thunderbolt from the clouds, and the sceptre from tyrants ;" he had drawn down lightning, actual and metaphorical, from heaven. And now came another man ready to redeem humanity from its sad inheritance of suffering ! Surely a new reign of liberty must be at hand—a millennium of happiness beginning in France for all people !

Vienna had cast out Mesmer, because the people of that city had declared that unless they saw they would not believe, and what they did see did not convince them. Paris, tottering in its ancient faith to Cross and Crown, was prepared to cling to anything ; but Mesmer had grown wary by his Austrian experience. Although the people of Paris were ready to hail him as a prophet, especially when the death of Voltaire made them eager for a fresh draught of excitement, Mesmer fortified himself by gaining over one of the Faculty of Paris, Dr. Deslon by name, whom he initiated into the mysteries of Animal Magnetism, just as the Faculty

was straining every nerve to change probabilities into facts. Facts came thick and fast—at all events, to the excited view of the multitude. The sick were cured; old men dreamed dreams; and young men and maidens saw visions. Dr. Mesmer looked and spoke like one inspired. Enthusiasm is contagious, and Mesmerism spread like an epidemic through all classes and conditions of men in France, just as sympathy for American liberty was spreading. The old Duc de Richelieu had, years before, placed himself under the treatment of the Count de St. Germain, by whose magic it had been said that the gallant duke had been restored to fresh strength, youth, and beauty. The Count de St. Germain had applied raw veal to the duke's body, thereby drawing from it the poisonous effects of time.* But raw veal was superseded now. Even the golden elixir of life, which the Count de St. Germain was said to possess, was thrown into the shade by the marvels of Mesmerism. Count de Maurepas, the King's first minister, who, as Madame du Deffand said, "laughed at everything," seriously considered Mes-

* Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV. Vol. ii., p. 68. London, 1861.

merism. De Maurepas was a sceptic generally, but his hope of living beyond the allotted term of man's life was the parent of his belief in the power of Mesmer to enable him to do so. De Maurepas was old and failing fast; he did not desire to die, like the Prince de Conti, of a *maladie de langueur*.

Confident of his power over de Maurepas, Mesmer presented that cabinet minister with a memorial, written by his own (Mesmer's) hand, in which he prayed the King not only to have the truth of Animal Magnetism tested, and placed by proofs beyond all doubt, but to endow him with a certain château and estate, which he designated, as a reward for his discovery; threatening, moreover, that, in case of the King's refusal of his demands, he would forthwith leave France and her sick to take care of themselves. This was a terrible threat to the people. Mesmer's steps were thronged. His rooms in Paris were crowded. Each day added to his fame. Mesmer was an object of popular worship. In the last reign the Jesuits had been accused of encouraging and organizing the "Convulsionists," and other sects of enthusiasts and impostors, to the hinderance of truth, and to the

prejudice of morality. The Jesuits were now no longer the teachers of the people. Philosophers and Oratorians had usurped their place; yet here were the people voluntarily submitting themselves to the magic, as they believed, of Dr. Anthony Mesmer, which magic some few cool observers declared was not conducive to public morality nor to pure science.

Another paradox: The Cabinet of Versailles, which, in the immoral reign of Louis XV., had put down the Convulsionists, now, under the most virtuous king who had ever sat upon the throne of France, condescended to answer Mesmer's memorial by sending the Baron de Breteuil to him, to offer, as a substitute for his demand, an income of 20,000 livres, and an annual douceur of 10,000 francs, that he might establish a Clinical Magnetism, and for training in his system three persons chosen by Government—with a further promise of increased royal favour should his discovery prove permanently beneficial. Upon receiving these proposals, Mesmer took offence, or pretended to do so, and withdrew from Paris to Spa. The people of Paris were in despair, and the will of the people of Paris had begun to rule the throne of France.

Deslon, Mesmer's initiated disciple, continued to practise Animal Magnetism in Paris. Mesmer, hearing of this, and jealous of Deslon, his pupil, declared, from Spa, that Deslon was an impostor. Many of Mesmer's patients had flocked after him to Spa. One of these, a M. Bergasse, proposed that a subscription should be raised for Mesmer (*"de cent actions à cent louis chacune"*), which subscription soon accumulated such wealth to Mesmer, that in defiance, as it seemed, of Versailles, he returned in fresh glory to Paris, and opened a hall of treatment there, to which hall multitudes flocked, looking upon the prophet now in something also of the light of a martyr to royal tyranny.

Courtiers, unable to resist the tide of excitement, which had gathered fresh strength from the momentary check, also showed themselves there. Scandal proclaimed that the Hall of Treatment was not a school of virtue. Owing to this rumour, it was decreed by his Majesty that Dr. Franklin, one of the most scientific moralists in the kingdom, should, with other learned commissioners, examine and inquire into the truths of Mesmerism. Experiments were made at Passy, at the house of Dr. Franklin there. The commissioners (the learned

Bailly was one of them), submitted to be experimented upon by Dr. Mesmer—with more or less success. Franklin, looking on, determined to oppose the power of his will to that of Mesmer. Franklin's theory was, that Mesmerism was mainly due to the imagination of the person acted upon. The failure of the experiment upon himself confirmed his theory. Dr. Mesmer found it impossible to mesmerize Dr. Franklin. But seldom has human nature exhibited such powers of strong will and self-control as Dr. Franklin displayed upon all the great occasions of his life. It was impossible that Mesmer could subdue the man whom we have seen submitting, with outward indifference, to Wedderburne's torrent of invective against him; whose hand had written the cold letter we have read to his son a few hours after his condemnation, as unfalteringly as though his pulse had never been quickened by a sense of injustice; who, when Lord Sandwich arraigned him in the House of Lords, stood outwardly unmoved, as though his "features were made of wood;" and who scarcely spoke above a whisper when registering his vow of vengeance, which had helped to deluge both hemispheres with blood.

Dr. Mesmer was powerless against Dr. Franklin; and the latter quietly crushed the occult pretensions of the former, coolly declaring Animal Magnetism to be "mainly due to the effect of the patient's excited imagination; to imitation in numerous assemblies; and to the singular facility with which nervous affections propagate themselves, as in the common contagion of tears or laughter." Of course Mesmer had still his warm defenders. His cause was advocated by some amongst learned men, and the people still continued to crowd after him; but, after Franklin's decree, being no longer in hope that his former claims would be acceded to by the Court at Versailles, he soon afterwards took himself and some of his disciples off to Germany, not forgetting to carry with him the money which had been subscribed for him in France.* The *Encyclopédie* of the time declares, "Magic, considered as the science of the first Magi, was nothing else but the study of natural science and wisdom . . . but it rarely happens that man limits himself to the truth. It is almost impossible but that a set of people, who are ignorant, should succumb to the temptation of belief in the marvellous and superhuman, which belief the self-exaltation

* L'Encyclopédie, tome iv., p. 95.

of the teacher tempts him on his part to encourage."

The people of Paris, once having yielded to this temptation, were not likely to look long in vain for another man who might satisfy the craving for excitement—charlatanism being as much a professional as a popular epidemic.

Thus, in time, the way was paved in Paris for the advent there of Cagliostro. He came armed with a force which overthrew the objections raised against "magic" by the Church, as he was the *protégé* of Cardinal Prince de Rohan. Cardinal de Rohan had long been banished from Versailles, on account of his political intrigues in the last period of the reign of Louis XV. None knew the daring nature of those intrigues so well as did Marie Antoinette, as none had been likely to suffer from them as she had been. Cardinal de Rohan was one of the first to greet Marie Antoinette, and to welcome her to her new country, when, as bride and dauphiness, she had paused at Strasbourg on her progress from Vienna to Versailles.* Prepared to regard him favourably, as one who had been received at her mother's

* APPENDIX A.

Court, she was henceforth inclined to place confidence in him, not only as priest, but politician. He quickly perceived this, and determined to work upon her inexperience, so as to turn it to his own advantage. As dauphiness, she was friendless at the Court of Versailles, and she trusted him overmuch, in imparting to him, with all the frankness of youth, her strong sense of the unjust treatment to which, as we have seen, she had been subjected by the advisers of her boy-husband, who had not yet laid claim to her as wife. It was then that the idea was suggested by De Rohan of divorcing her from the Dauphin, and of marrying her to Louis XV., who was the only one in the royal family of France who had manifested a tender regard towards her. By this step De Rohan would certainly forfeit the favour of Madame du Barry, of whom he had hitherto been an ally, but it would give him power over the Courts both of Vienna and Versailles. To Marie Antoinette such a scheme was at first abhorrent; but, when—to further his own political views—De Rohan proposed to substitute her sister, the Archduchess Elizabeth, in her place on the throne of France, she seems to

have been inclined to regard it as less impossible to accept Louis XV. as a husband for herself.

At this early period of her life, Marie Antoinette had believed herself forsaken or forgotten even by her mother, whom she loved. De Rohan had surrounded her by spies, who had not only intercepted her letters to and from her mother's Court, but had—through him—misrepresented her conduct at Vienna. At Versailles, as we have seen, she was suspected by the Dauphin's aunts of a correspondence with Vienna, treasonable to France; and at Vienna she was suspected of injurious indifference concerning the political interests of Austria at Versailles. She was told by de Rohan that her mother had entrusted him with the negotiation of a marriage between her husband's grandfather and her own sister—a marriage which not only would supplant her as Queen, but which would disgrace her as woman. The tide was too strong against her, and it would in any case have shipwrecked her, had not the political disgrace of de Rohan (which was achieved by Madame du Barry), and the death of Louis XV., intervened. From the moment that her husband's love woke up towards her, she looked

back with horror at the snares she had escaped. As Queen, she regarded Cardinal de Rohan as her evil genius when Dauphiness. He was banished, for other political offences, from Versailles; but her friend and confidante, the Princesse de Lamballe, asserts that her Majesty never heard his name without shuddering.* Cardinal de Rohan had not now beheld the Queen of France for many years. If, as had been rumoured at Versailles, her charms had infatuated him when Dauphiness, they were much more likely to do so now, in the mature perfection of her beauty. The celebrated diamond necklace, which had first been ordered by Louis XV. for Madame du Barry, and was afterwards intended by that monarch for Marie Antoinette, (when he hoped to divorce her from the Dauphin and to make her his Queen), still remained, unclaimed, in the hands of Boehmer, the Queen's jeweller. Marie Antoinette did not care for jewels (having coquettishly told the Princesse de Lamballe that she did not desire to have her eyes outshone by diamonds, nor her teeth outmatched by pearls); she did not wish to wear them even one night when she gave a fête at Trianon, in honour

* For fuller account of de Rohan's intrigue, see APPENDIX C.

of her guests, the Grand Duke and Duchess of the North—the son of the Empress Catherine and his wife, who travelled under that title. Only special guests were invited that night : the Queen, therefore, was dismayed when, driving down one of the walks with the Grand Duke and Duchess of the North, the Cardinal Prince de Rohan suddenly appeared in her path. He dropped a large cloak that he wore, and stood revealed before her in full Cardinal's costume. By bribery, or misrepresentation, he had succeeded in gaining admission. The apparition of the Cardinal struck the Queen with surprise, alarm, and indignation. The King knew enough of the Cardinal's political intrigues to desire his absence ; and discovering that he had gained admission to Trianon by fraud, proposed to banish his eminence one hundred leagues from Paris ; but the Queen was afraid of offending the Cardinal, as she had placed herself in his power years since ; and the King (who was ignorant of the Queen's personal motives) was only too willing, when his first impulse of indignation was over, to listen to the pleadings of his aunts and of his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, not to compromise the dignity of the Church by punishing the Cardinal.

This digression will be pardoned in introducing Cagliostro to Paris, that charlatan being the tool of de Rohan in the horrible plot formed against the Queen in after years by the scandal of "The Queen's Necklace" (which scandal has been rendered familiar in name, though not in fact, by nineteenth century fiction). Alexandre, Count de Cagliostro, whose real name was Joseph Balsamo, was of Jewish origin. He was born at Palermo, in 1745. When very young he robbed a goldsmith, which robbery being discovered, he was compelled to fly from his country, before justice, in pursuit of him, could overtake him. Enriched with his dishonest spoils, Joseph Balsamo travelled in search of knowledge, which afterwards became power to him. He visited Greece, Egypt, Malta, Turkey, and for a length of time pitched his tent in Arabia. In the latter country Balsamo studied medicine. Science which in former ages was deemed miraculous, became familiar to him; he was initiated into the lore of the East, and into occult science and superstitious practices which are still perpetuated there. It is possible that Balsamo's Eastern blood was an introduction to his Eastern teachers; but at last he surpassed them, the wise men of the East,

and, for his knowledge, was received with honour by the Xerife of Mecca, whose protection was a source of fresh wealth to him. In the city of the Prophet, Balsamo increased his experience. As physician, he was admitted into harems, and was welcome in Oriental palaces. Passing from one country to another, he adopted various names and titles, until, in 1773, at thirty years of age, he returned to Europe as Count Cagliostro. He then became the guest of the Count St. Germain, the mystic diplomatist of whom we have given an account in this chapter, and who was, in 1775, appointed Minister of War at Versailles. Cagliostro, in 1773, was welcome to St. Germain, then exiled from Court. The travels and the studies of these two men were, to a certain degree, identical.

Cagliostro now married the daughter of a copper-founder. This woman was possessed of beauty and talent, but she prostituted both to the furtherance of intrigue, in which she was an adept. Unlike Mesmer, Cagliostro was not endowed with a commanding person ; but, notwithstanding various outward defects—not the least of which was a squint—his manner, language, and bearing impressed all men in all countries with confidence in his power.

With his wife he visited Russia, Poland, and Germany, and, staying at Strasbourg, he performed such wonderful cures there, that Cardinal de Rohan, bishop of Strasbourg, induced him to settle in that city. The wily Cardinal, foreseeing possibly that Cagliostro would be invaluable in forwarding his own diplomatic views, lavished such honours on him, that the Strasbourgeoisie (whom we have seen dancing at the fêtes given a few years before, in honour of the Dauphiness, Marie Antoinette) welcomed the charlatan, and implicitly believed in his magic, which thus manifested itself under the protection of the Church. This protection sanctified, to the eyes of the Strasbourg people, practices which otherwise might have been deemed by those good citizens both unholy and unlawful.

The dead were called up; the future was foretold; the past was revealed; gold was created—according to the robust faith of Strasbourg. The wealth of the sorcerer was unlimited. Where could such power and such wealth be exercised and displayed as at Paris? At the time when Cardinal de Rohan re-appeared before Queen Marie Antoinette in the gardens of Trianon, dropping his cloak and standing there, revealed before her in his

Cardinal's costume, as she drove past with the son of Catherine of Russia, the name of Cagliostro was already notorious in Paris.

The Parisians, as we know, were gasping for excitement. Belief in the supernatural had become a new religion with them.

Mesmer had persuaded the people of a principle at once subtle and profound, and had addressed himself to their love of life. Cagliostro appealed to curiosity, to the love of life, and also to the love of gold. Not only did he exceed the marvels of Mesmerism in curing the sick, but his patients, stretching out their hands towards him to bless him, found that gold mysteriously appeared upon their palms. The magnificence of Cagliostro's abode was the theme of every tongue; every drinking cup there, it is said, was studded with gems. Fabulous wealth, thus openly displayed, might have excited envy and malignity, just at this time when Rousseau had revived the taste, or the fashion of the taste, for primitive life; when Frenchmen had just sailed across the Atlantic to help American men to fight "for their woods and their liberties;" when philosophers, generally, taught the new doctrine that "society is a group of common interests,

nothing is legitimate but that which results from common consent;" when Mirabeau from his prison declared that a king ought to wear a crown, only as a symbol of his having undertaken to fulfil the will of the people; but the creation of gold,* which enabled the people to share it with the creator, was worshipped in the person of Cagliostro by the people of Paris. Was it for this that the charlatan was also welcome to many of the most rigid of the noblesse?

The protection of Cardinal de Rohan was regarded as a warrant of his superhuman mission.

The Countess de Noailles (that scrupulous "Madame Etiquette" whom Marie Antoinette had offended, when Dauphiness, by deriding antique court customs), Mesdames de Guéméné and de Marsan (both celebrated for having "sung psalms" with the late Dauphin, father of Louis XVI.)—these, and others, who, years before, had deplored the expulsion of the Jesuits, had never for-

* The belief in the possibility of the transmutation of common metals and substances, and also of certain liquids, into gold, had long been entertained in France. In the Bibliothèque Impériale, there is a MS. (seventeenth century) to a M. de Chaudoux, praying him to have mercy upon the writer, who is in great distress and poverty, by revealing to him the secret of transmutation. Proofs of this belief are innumerable; the one above is selected as never having been tampered with.

given the present Queen of France for the banishment of Cardinal de Rohan from Versailles. Cardinal de Rohan, therefore, was welcome to those of the Court who had represented him as a victim of the Queen's caprice, in his exile from Versailles.

Cagliostro, the gold creator, as the Cardinal's protégé, was favourably regarded by those opposed to the Queen. The charlatan, therefore, soon enrolled some of the highest of the noblesse as his disciples ; whilst the lowest members of society—men and women who had nothing to lose and everything to gain—naturally mustered beneath his banner. Of these, the infamous Madame de la Motte was one. She it was who forged letters in the Queen's name, which letters pretended to employ Cardinal de Rohan in obtaining for her Majesty, from the Crown jewellers, MM. Boehmer and Bassange, the diamond necklace before named, the value of which was estimated at 1,800,000 livres. The Crown jewellers had frequently solicited Louis XVI. and the Queen to repurchase it of them ; but Marie Antoinette had more diamonds than she cared to wear ; the State was in debt, and her Majesty had declined all the King's

offers of presenting this costly necklace to her.

It has been urged by his defenders in this *cause célèbre*, that Cardinal de Rohan himself was imposed upon by Madame de la Motte ; and that, when he received this necklace from the hands of the Crown jewellers, he believed he really was the appointed agent of her Majesty. Whether the Cardinal believed so or not, the Crown jewellers soon claimed payment of Versailles. The Queen believed the Crown jewellers mad when they made the claim. M. Boehmer, on his knees before the Queen, attested his belief that the necklace had been delivered to her Majesty by Cardinal de Rohan. The Queen laid the case before the King. Cardinal de Rohan was examined in the King's Cabinet,* and arrested with Madame la Motte

* It has been also asserted that Cardinal de Rohan had conceived a passion for the Queen of France, and that this love was the ground of his conduct. The fiction, founded upon this supposition, seems to have had some ground in an anecdote recorded by more than one contemporary biographer, which is this:—"A young lady in the palace, who resembled the Queen in person, was employed by her Majesty's enemies—or by Madame de la Motte's friends—to solicit a private interview with Cardinal de Rohan, which interview took place in the gardens of Versailles at twilight. The young lady presented the Cardinal with a rose, as a sign of her favour and forgiveness of the past, which sign induced his Eminence to believe that the Queen subsequently did really employ him as her agent in procuring

and Cagliostro. "The diamonds were scattered and shared," says the Princesse de Lamballe, "amongst a horde of the most depraved knaves who have ever made human nature blush for itself." (La Motte's husband had carried off the necklace to London, where it was broken up.) The Cardinal was arrested, but the Queen was still afraid of him. The officers under whose guard his Eminence was placed, only beheld in their illustrious prisoner a dignitary of the Church, whom it was their duty to obey. The Cardinal saw his advantage; he ordered his jailers to transmit a letter which he wrote to his factotum, the Abbé Georgel. This letter commanded that all letters from Count Cagliostro, from Madame de la Motte, and others, should be instantly destroyed. Thus, no sooner were de Rohan and Cagliostro apprehended, than all proofs against them were annihilated. The friends of the Church saw nothing in the arrest of the Cardinal but an insult offered by the coveted necklace for her, he never doubting that he had received the rose from the hand of her Majesty, until, in the King's cabinet, he was confronted by Marie Antoinette in broad daylight, when he saw that the years which had passed since he had last observed her closely, had developed certain beauties in her, which the young lady who had duped him by no means possessed.—"Louis XVI.," par l'Abbé Millot, p. 151.

the Queen to religion. The people saw nothing in the arrest of Cagliostro but an act of despotism against their idol, "the friend of humanity."

The families of de Rohan and Condé, with other powerful personages, distributed a million of money to ecclesiastics of every rank, and sent envoys to the Court of Rome with offerings, to determine the Church to oppose and to punish the civil authority of France, for daring to arrest a dignitary of the Church for fraud. The Abbé Georgel corrupted the press in behalf of the cardinal, and thus helped to inflame the minds of the people of Paris against the Court of Versailles. At last, proofs being destroyed, and the Queen afraid to convict the Cardinal, he was set at liberty. The King's aunts loudly complained of the sacrilege committed on the sacred person of the Cardinal. The Cardinal was regarded as a victim, but the Queen was the martyr. Her enemies were increased by this affair. The King had shown himself just and impartial throughout the investigation ; but, wanting the Queen's full confidence, he wanted also the real clue to the mystery of her conduct concerning de Rohan, and was glad to avoid the scandal of having to convict a cardinal of fraud.

The Princesse de Lamballe was the Queen's most faithful friend on this occasion. Certain papers (proving that evidence in favour of de Rohan, and adverse to the Queen, had been bribed) falling into her hands, she sent these papers to the Pope, just when the Princesses, the King's aunts, were about to make a pilgrimage to Rome. Thus the Princesse de Lamballe vindicated the Queen of France in the opinion of the Holy Father, and armed him against her accusers. Cagliostro was confined in the Bastille. He was not only involved in the necklace fraud, but was suspected of political intrigues. One of his pretensions had been to read the future in a bottle of water, through the medium of a child in a state of nature and innocence. Had the prophet applied this power to his own case, he would have avoided his present punishment; but the people, not pausing to consider this disparity between facts and pretensions, regarded Cagliostro as the victim of tyranny, and his incarceration, therefore, rather increased than diminished enthusiasm in his favour. He had founded an order of Egyptian masonry, of which he was the Grand Cophte (a title substituted for that of Venerable); and a lodge of this

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order, at Strasbourg, helped to organize his disciples into a band of resistance against the French Government, and of strength in favour of de Rohan, although Cagliostro's Egyptian Freemasonry eventually drew down the thunders of the Inquisition upon its founder.

Meanwhile, Cagliostro awaited his release from the Bastille with calm confidence, inspired by the knowledge that, by Cardinal de Rohan's orders, all papers were destroyed which could condemn him. His wife did not share his imprisonment. The letters of Cagliostro to his wife* are written in elegant Italian, and in a remarkably clear character; they are curious specimens of the use of language in concealing thought; of a charlatan's faith; of cunning; of servility to the great; and of uxoriousness. Throughout the whole of these letters the reader can perceive that their calmness does not spring from the tranquillity of philosophy under affliction, but from a knavish certainty of having frustrated his accusers. The trivialities in which these letters seem to abound, are, in fact, secret modes of communication (in colour, numbers, &c.). For example:—

* Eg. MSS. (unpublished).

" 28th November.

"DEAR SERAPH AND WELL-BELOVED WIFE,—I give thee news of my health with pleasure. For some days I have not vomited blood. . . . One must conform one's self to the divine decrees of Providence, which, as I hope, will cause my innocence to triumph. I pray thee to tell to all persons who know me, and upon whom we can count as friends, that now is the moment to labour for me, and to make known the truth. I pray thee to say a million tender things for me to them, and especially to Madame de Luxembourg, &c. . . . I recommend myself to thee, that thou mayest take all possible steps for thine unfortunate husband. I conclude by tenderly embracing thee, and saluting all my domestics, especially Augustin. *

"Thy Husband, who loves thee more than himself until death.

"P.S. I send thee the list of my dirty linen:—Two shirts; nine table-napkins; three white handkerchiefs; one night-cap; one waistcoat; one pair of socks; one pair of white drawers; one bed-sheet."

In another letter, Cagliostro begs for his ruby waistcoat; in another, he enforces the necessity of counting the empty Burgundy wine bottles. In another, he notes the number of snuff-boxes left in his cabinet at home. These numbers, no doubt, formed a perfect mode of correspondence with his "sweet seraph and beloved wife," whom he had initiated into his mysteries. Strengthened by the

* Interleaved in the original Italian MS. is the following note in French:—"This Augustin was incessantly at the Bastille for his master's service. He was his man of confidence."

Cardinal's decree for the destruction of all dangerous papers, Cagliostro could venture calmly to protest his innocence.

"Let us recommend ourselves to God. Truth and innocence will be our protectors," writes he, in another letter. "The troubles that we have suffered will, I hope, be recompensed by a just government. . . . Our hearts are innocent, and our friends are sincere . . . therein, certainly, is the security of our triumph."*

Cagliostro and Cardinal de Rohan were acquitted. The Cardinal returned to Strasbourg, sometimes re-appearing in Paris, to haunt the unfortunate Queen of France. Cagliostro visited England, Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont. As a magician he was condemned to death by the Inquisition; afterwards his sentence was commuted to the galleys; and then to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of St. Leon, in the Duchy of Urbin, where he died. He was betrayed by his wife, who, shut up in a convent, survived him some years. Cagliostro's liberation from the Bastille was celebrated by a general illumination in Paris, although he was under sentence of banishment

* MSS. Eg. Coll. Mus. Brit.

from France. When he embarked at Boulogne the shore was crowded by thousands of people, who implored him to bless them before leaving them.

This digression concerning Cardinal de Rohan and Cagliostro will be pardoned, as showing how the history of magic, in the eighteenth century, was interwoven with the history of the Queen of France, and how the people clung tenaciously to superstition, in proportion as the bulwarks of religion were broken down.

Years before the advent of Cagliostro in France, a change which affected every class of men was operating in France. All that the King did under the influence of Dr. Franklin, for the development of science, and for the increase of popular education, seemed only to hasten the downfall of the monarchy, and to uproot its traditions. In former times, to fight for the King, to revenge feudal and family quarrels, to spell over the War Mémoires of Bassompierre or of the great Condé, to ride and to fence, completed the education of a French noble.

In former times, the education of the magistracy was to study precedent and Roman law. Might was Right in old France. Legislation was practi-

cally unknown; although, says Montaigne, "France had more laws than would have been necessary to rule all the worlds of Epicurus . . . We are more tormented by laws than we formerly were by vices."* It was reserved for Montesquieu, in the middle of the eighteenth century, to expound the "spirit of laws." Montesquieu taught both France and America to think and to legislate for themselves. Franklin had declared, in the New World, that when "Law becomes a popular study, Right and Might change places."† And Voltaire had declared in the Old World, that "when the people begin to think, the throne begins to totter."

In former times, in France, marriage between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie was rare. Not so in the eighteenth century. The vast wealth accumulated by many farmers-general of finance had enabled them to buy the estates of impoverished nobles, to marry the daughters of ancient houses, and, when these houses produced no heir-male, to dub themselves with time-honoured titles.

* *Essais de Montaigne*, vol. iii., p. 320. Tacit. Annal., l. iiii., c. 25.

† Montesquieu's "*Esprit des Loix*" was widely read in America. The American newspapers of the eighteenth century constantly quote from that work in their leading articles. Not twenty years after Montesquieu's death, the American Rebellion broke out.

Financiers in the eighteenth century were the protectors of philosophy. Helvetius,* for example, wrote books that assailed ancient institutions. Popelinière, who lent money to Marshal Saxe, to carry on the wars in Flanders, was the patron of men of letters.

In former times, when the Pulpit denounced vice at Versailles, the streets of Paris presented the not unfrequent sight of open-air preaching. A Dominican friar, from the far ends of the earth, would suddenly arrest the crowd by proclaiming the tidings of salvation or of judgment. The people would stop, in awe, to listen to the preacher. Men bared their heads before this missionary of God. Attention was intently fixed when the preacher discoursed to the people of other lands and tribes, of names unknown to them. The French idea of geography was fantastic in those times, and the people's faith undoubting, when the Church was the only teacher.†

* Helvetius died in Paris, the 26th December, 1771.

† In the Bibliothèque Impériale there is a volume of MSS., which has been in the Royal Library of the Kings of France since the fourteenth century. These MSS. are bound in a long and narrow volume, made of calf-skin and wood, and are called "*Cartes Dites Catalanes*," from the illuminated map by which they are illustrated. The most that can be done is to give an

Now, in 1778, by speculation, commerce, and politics, by the late war which had lost Canada to France, and by the present war for American liberty against the English Crown, Frenchmen — enlightened — no longer regarded the other ends of the earth as enveloped in sacred mystery. Until the Seven Years' War, however, India had been believed by Frenchmen to be the land of wealth and wonders; even now Gallic imagination still painted some parts of the New

idea of these *Cartes*. The date of the work is not marked, but it is believed to be 1375, because in the first *Carte* the Christian banner floats over the Island of Chypre (Cyprus), which the Musulmans conquered in the year 1375. The following is a translation of the first words, which are in the old Catalan dialect (a quaint mixture of Italian, Spanish, and French):—"There are good and bad days of the moon. Adam was created upon the first day of the moon, and this day is good for the beginning of all work, and for marriage, and for selling and buying wool on a journey, and for building houses. There is then calm on the sea, and calm on land. A man who falls ill upon that day will recover. The child who is born on that day will live. . . ." The good and bad days of the moon are then further signified (as in most of the astronomical and astrological works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Afterwards comes the figure of a man marked by all the signs of the Zodiac, and the days upon which he ought to be bled, &c., with the influences of the celestial bodies upon the human body. Afterwards, the map of the world, in which England is represented with two flags—one with three golden leopards upon a red ground, and the other with a red leopard upon a golden ground, surrounded by a

World as a Utopia, which, unlike North America, was not in need of lawyers or doctors. ("To each foot its shoe," as says Montaigne. "King Ferdinand, sending colonies to the Indies, wisely declared that no students of jurisprudence should emigrate there, fearing in that New World the beginning of law-suits, those breeders of altercation and division: and judging with Plato, that lawyers and doctors are a bad provision for a country.") Frenchmen, in longing for this Trans-

golden *fleur de lis*. Then comes Ireland, with the following extraordinary announcement:—"In Ibernise are many wonderful isles; men do not inhabit these, but when they die of old age, they cause themselves to be transported to them." Towards the north is the isle d'Archanie (?), in which are six months of night and six months of day. Further off are designated Germany, Bavaria, France, Italy, the Coast of Africa, Spain, Portugal, Majorca, Minorca. Near Guinea is inscribed:—"By this place travellers pass who enter into the land of the negroes of Guinea, which country is called 'The Valley of Darha.'" Another chart comprehends the rest of Europe, and part of Asia, (Russia, &c.) In the third chart, Arabia—"the province which the Queen of Sheba possessed, and where the bird Phoenix was found." Then there is the Indian Ocean, upon which floats a ship—"Know that these vessels are called *junchi*, and their sails are made of palm leaves." Afterwards, Noah's Ark upon Ararat, the Tower of Babel, &c. The fourth and last chart, representing the remainder of Asia, is laden with legends and fabulous traditions. Also, "the kingdoms of Gog and Magog—from which the prince will come in the time of Anti-Christ."

atlantic Utopia, forgot that, though law and medicine might be at a blessed discount there, the Church still stretched her arm across those fertile countries, powerful as she had been in France when the missionary told marvellous tales to Old Paris, of nature and of grace. In former times, nuns, sisters of charity, devoted to works of love and faith, were regarded in France as ministering angels of comfort to the sick and to the poor. The palace and the hovel were equally open to them, and were equally honoured and consecrated by their presence. The Convent had been the natural refuge for women from the temptations and disappointments of the world. The Convent had been the nursery and school for the daughters of the noblesse; the Monastery had trained and taught the youth of France. Now, the "Nouvelle Héloïse" of Rousseau, and his "Émile," had turned all heads. To an education of uninquiring obedience to Cross and Crown, had succeeded a liberty of morals and manners among the young of both sexes. The philosophic school attacked the basis of monastic institutions. It was a growing fashion to emancipate young girls from conventual tyranny, and to rear them according to their parents' liberty of

conscience. Worse still:—Diderot, one of the founders of the *Eneyclopédie*, had dared to throw doubt upon the popular belief in the holy life of the Convent. “The Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus,” who taught, prayed, and consoled, “no longer met with reverence from the crowd, as they passed through it on their way to succour the sick and to speak peace to the dying.” The austere Carmelite, the humble Capuchin, were caricatured. Philosophers, generally, showed no respect for monks, and men, generally, were wanting in reverence to women.

The King of France had sent out ships, men, and money to America. Frenchmen were fighting for liberty in the New World, and liberty was fast degenerating into licentiousness in the Old World. But, though so-called philosophy attacked the Church—though the people caricatured monks and hailed charlatans, like Cagliostro, as the friends of humanity—though young men scoffed at the Cross, and sneered at the Crown—though young maidens, emancipated from the convent, drove themselves in Longchamps, followed by barking dogs, and by grooms dressed like English jockeys (their own costume an imitation of that

worn by Rousseau's frail heroine, and daughter of nature, the *Nouvelle Héloïse*)—though Necker, the Protestant Finance Comptroller, restrained the wealth of monasteries—though Franklin, the heretic American insurgent, gave away the "Sacred bread of Kings," by the number of the thirteen American colonies, each loaf stamped with "Liberty;"—though all this, and much more that the reader may have discovered for himself, yet sorrow, and sin, the repentant, the dying, the afflicted, the mourner, still testified to the need of the Church to console. Proofs of this may be found amongst innumerable autograph letters from Abbesses and Prioresses of France to M. St. Julien, who was the friend of Voltaire and the Receiver-General of the clergy. Most of these letters implore aid from Government in behalf of sisterhoods, whose means are so limited by modern reforms, that their convents are falling into ruin, and their charities are cramped by poverty. Some of these letters are in bold handwriting, characteristic of personal ambition; others, in minute handwriting, as though the writer had only been accustomed to scrutinize one object all her life; others in elegant caligraphy, befitting the trainer of high-

born demoiselles for the observances and etiquette of Court life. From these letters we will select one (supposed to be addressed to the Princesse de Lamballe in the earlier period of her widowhood, before the friendship of the Queen had, as she says, "brought balm to her soul)," from which it will be seen that Abbesses had still a vocation left (or believed they had), besides that of craving alms from the State :—



"Vive Jesus!

"Compliments.

"MADAME,—With real grief I have learned the loss you have sustained. Would that I could lessen your grief by sharing the burthen of it! In your piety, Madame, you will find a solid reason for consolation. I believe that I cannot better enter into your feelings than by addressing to God, with all my community, our most ardent prayers for the relief of the soul of the departed—he who is the subject of your tears.—I have the honour to be, with respect for your most serene highness, Madame, your very humble and very obedient servant,

"SISTER DE BETHUSY,

"Abbess of the Abbey of St. Remy."*

* MS. Egerton Collection.

CHAPTER III.

Don Carlos III., King of Spain—His daily life and habits—Spanish American Colonies—Revenue derived by Spain from America—The Family Compact—The Spanish rescript—Moorish antiquities near Gibraltar—Combined Fleets of France and Spain in the English Channel—Descent upon England—Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland—England's neglected Defences—Lord Sandwich—French Camp and English Camp—Aspirants for glory at Versailles—Ireland—Lafayette returns to Europe—Fate of the French and Spanish expedition against England—Return of Admiral d'Orvilliers to Paris—*Te Deum* at Versailles for successes in the Western hemisphere—General illumination in Paris—Admiral d'Estaing and Admiral d'Orvilliers—Lafayette's welcome at Versailles—Two parties in the cabinet of Versailles—De Vergennes' stroke of policy—Declaration of d'Estaing to French Canadians—French Canadians halting between English gold and French faith—Original letter from French Canadians to the English governor—D'Estaing at Martinique—D'Estaing at Grenada—Admiral Byron pursued by d'Estaing

—D'Estaing's fierce fight at Savannah—Original account of the siege of Savannah by Count d'Estaing and General Prevost—English flags in the church of Notre Dame—The Count de Grasse—Success of Lord Cornwallis—Hardships of General Washington's army—Lafayette's subtle stroke of diplomacy at Versailles—French *fêtes* in honour of Lafayette, the American hero—America's presentation of a sword to Lafayette in France—Dr. Franklin's letter to Lafayette—*Fête* to the "venerable" Dr. Franklin at the Freemason's Lodge of the "Nine Sisters"—Liberty in the salons of Paris—The Chevalier de la Luzerne in America—American "filibustering" of the eighteenth century—American newspaper articles of the eighteenth century—Letter from General Washington in America to Lafayette in France—The Channel Islands defended—Mrs. Anne D. Damer captured by the French—Horace Walpole on politics in 1779—Lafayette's scheme for increasing the French Navy—Dutch-bottomed American cruisers—American envoy to Holland taken prisoner by the English—Severe Hardships of the American army—Provincial benevolence to American troops—Sharp skirmishes across the ice in America—Political pasquinades in Paris—Political lampoons at Versailles—The King and the young Count de Ségur—Lafayette's return to America.

IN the year 1779, Spain formed a junction of her forces with those of France against England. It is remarkable that Roman Catholic Spain, ruled by despotism, and where the people still trembled before the terrors of the Inquisition, should thus ally herself in the cause of Liberty. Blood rela-

tionship between the Courts of Spain and France was fourfold.*

Don Carlos III., the present King of Spain, was now sixty-three years of age. In his youth he was known as "Brave Baby Carlos." He was then King of Naples and Sicily; his name in those days was associated with that of his mother—the noble Elizabeth Farnese.† A warrior in his youth, Carlos III. was a Nimrod in his old age. Hunting and shooting were his ruling passions. His courtiers and children (for he expected all to follow him in his sport) complained of the hardships to which these ruling passions subjected them. The King rose at seven in the morning in winter, opened his own shutters, wrote his letters and despatches, and then—let the weather be what it might—went out shooting. "Rain breaks no

* Don Carlos III., the present King of Spain, was the son of Philip V., who was grandson of Louis XIV. The sister of Carlos III. was the first wife of the Dauphin, the father of Louis XVI. The wife of Carlos III. was sister to the Dauphin's second wife (daughter of Augustus, King of Poland), the mother of Louis XVI. The brother of Carlos III. (Don Philip) had married the favourite daughter of Louis XV. (the Duchess of Parma, who died in 1759).

† Elizabeth Farnese was the pupil of Cardinal Alberoni, the reputed author of the *Testament Politique*.

bones," was his constant maxim. When the days were short, he shot by torchlight. Travelling, he drove so furiously that it was no uncommon thing for some of his guards to break their arms, their legs, or their necks, on which his Majesty only observed that it was "good to die in doing one's duty." He had a good-natured, laughing eye, and liked joking with elderly persons, especially with monks and friars. The lower part of his face was tanned copper colour by exposure to all weathers. In stature, he was rather short. "On gala days a fine suit is hung upon his shoulders, but, as he has an eye to his afternoon's sport, and is a great economist of his time, the black breeches are worn to all coats. When he hears of a wolf being seen, distance is counted for nothing. Besides a numerous hunting establishment, all the idle fellows about Madrid are often hired to beat the country, and drive the wild boar, hares, and deer into a ring, where they pass before the royal family. Round Madrid and all his country palaces large sums are annually distributed among the proprietors of land for damage done to their corn. The environs of Madrid cost £70,000, and those of St. Ildefonso £30,000. The King is of a phlegmatic, easy

temper, and always sees everything on the favourable side.”*

In London, when the “Spanish Rescript” was published, which made known the alliance of Spain with France against England (upon pretence that England had insulted the Spanish flag, searched and plundered Spanish ships, and violated the territories of the King of Spain), rumours were spread, and eagerly believed, that the King of Spain had been “struck with insanity.” His father had died mad, and one of his sons was mad; but the King of Spain was not mad, but only keeping faith with the King of France, to whom he was bound by the ties of blood, and by the treaty known as “The Family Compact.” This compact was originally the work of Madame de Pompadour and the Duc de Choiseul. It had exasperated William Pitt at the end of the last war.† It had since been derided by the enemies of France, as the work of “the Cabinet in Petticoats.” De Choiseul was now out of office. William Pitt (Lord Chatham) was dead. Madame de Pompadour was dead. But “the intrigues of France,” as

* *Political Magazine*, 1780, p. 82.

† *Secret Hist. of the Court of France under Louis XV.* Vol. ii., p. 296. APPENDIX, vol. ii., p. 120.

English historians complain, or "the high policy of France," as French historians boast, bore fruit in 1779. Had the King of Spain been "struck by insanity," as Englishmen were led to hope by English newspapers in that year, the "Family Compact" would have been "broken up; or, at all events," said the London Press, "it will receive such a shock as will prevent any effectual co-operation of the arms of France and Spain, or perhaps it may be productive of a general peace; for the Prince of Asturias has always expressed an utter aversion to Frenchmen and French measures." (The Prince of Asturias, eldest son of the King of Spain and heir to the throne, is described by the same hand as "a lively youth, who had begun his triumphs with great joy over some sparrows killed with his own hand.")

To keep good faith with France was Spain's best policy. She had an eye to her own possessions in America; the revenues drawn from which were enormous.*

* "RICHES AND TRADE OF SPANISH AMERICA.—The quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered into the ports of Spain (reckoning from the year 1492 to the present time), is computed at four millions sterling annually; and Spanish writers contend that as much more ought to be added, which has

The necessity and glory of checking England's aggrandizement across the seas had been instilled into Spain by French writers during the Seven Years' War.* France attributed that war to England's Transatlantic infringements, in time of peace, on French boundaries.† The Family

not paid duty. By this account Spain has drawn from her colonies in America, in 287 years, upwards of 2000 millions of pounds sterling."

"REVENUE DRAWN BY SPAIN FROM HER AMERICAN COLONIES. —It arises from various taxes. The duty on gold and silver; Indian tribute; numerous duties on commerce, . . . the King's revenues as head of the Church; and the profit arising from the Bull Crusado. This bull is published every two years, and contains an absolution from past offences, and many immunities. . . . If all the other colonies, including the islands, furnish a third share, we cannot be far wide of the truth if we conclude that the net public revenue which Spain raises in her American colonies amounts to one million and a half sterling, after all the expenses of supporting her government in America are deducted. It ought to be remarked, that this revenue comprehends only the taxes raised in America; but it is far from being the whole that accrues to the King from his American dominions. . . . The commodities sent home to Spain from America, the tax on negro slaves, with several other branches of finance, also bring large sums into the King's treasury. . . . It must be confessed that these are great and formidable resources; but Englishmen cannot fail to recollect that the Spanish monarchy is for the most part deprived of them in time of war."—*Revenue of Spanish America*, in 1776.—*Political Magazine*, 1780, p. 79.

* *L'Histoire d'Espagne*, Paris, 1758. (Avec approbation et Privilège du Roy), par M. Desormeaux. Tome v., p. 530, &c.

† Copy of original MS. correspondence between Henry Fox

Compact, ratified at the end of the Seven Years' War, was represented in Catholic countries as a Catholic defensive alliance, intended only as a safeguard to those who joined it, against the faith of Protestants. But little did the Catholic powers who signed that compact foresee that, the first time its provisions were acted upon, it would lead them to aid and to defend heretics and insurgents !

In 1778, immediately after France had signed her treaty with America, Dr. Franklin addressed himself to the court of Madrid, in the hope that he might induce Spain to adopt the same policy at the same time. M. le Comte de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Versailles, the advocate there of the American cause, and the friend of Dr. Franklin, made overtures to Spain.

Spain now found out that she had cause of complaint against England upon the sea ; she moreover invited other nations to join in the war against Great Britain. The Spanish Proclamation, or "Rescript," declares : "His Catholic Majesty hopes that other nations will form a suitable and M. Rouillé, French minister of Foreign Affairs, 1755-6. *Mus. Brit.* Condensed and translated in *Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV.* Appendix, vol. ii. London, 1861.

idea of this resolution, by comparing it with the conduct which they themselves have experienced on the part of the British Ministry."

A copy of this Rescript was delivered to Lord Weymouth by the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis d'Almodavar, on the 16th of June, 1779; and in the autumn of that year the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to sixty-six sail of the line, sailed into the English Channel. With a view to increase the embarrassments of England, and to divide her force, Spain, with a considerable army, formed the memorable siege of Gibraltar.*

French troops were assembled on the northern coasts of France. Two camps were formed—one in Normandy, and the other in Brittany. The latter was under the command of M. de Castries (afterwards Minister of Marine), and the former was under that of Marshal Broglie, who had gained great honour for his conduct against the English during the last war. The fleet was under the

* In 1780, an interesting account was published in London of Gibraltar. Describing the Moorish antiquities of Gibraltar, this account mentions the remains of a mosque with the following Arabic dedication on the wall:—"To the God that pacifies, and the Peace-Maker: to the God Eternal, and that lasts for ever: to the God that lasts for ever, to the God that pacifies, and the Peace-Maker."

orders of the French Admiral d'Orvilliers (who, a year before, had fought Admiral Keppel in the Channel with no decisive result), and of the Spanish General Don Gaston. The apartments of Versailles were crowded by courtiers, eagerly soliciting the favour of being allowed a share in the peril and glory concerning which all France was in a state of eager excitement. The Empress of Russia maintained a strict neutrality, to which Denmark and Sweden acceded. Holland also professed neutrality, but was secretly, as we shall see, playing into the hands of the Americans. The King of Prussia was also neutral.

Thus, England at war in both hemispheres, had, unaided, to maintain her rights against a mighty combination, and she had neglected to look to her defences at home. Lord Sandwich (he who had openly assailed Dr. Franklin in the House of Peers, four years before) was first Lord of the Admiralty. He was notoriously unfit for his office. Plymouth was at this time in such a defenceless state, that its dockyards and arsenal were only saved from destruction by the enemy's ignorance of its condition. In Ireland, a revolution had broken out. Ireland, allied to France and Spain by faith, and irritated

against England (as explained in a preceding chapter), was eager to welcome the combined Catholic forces. The southern coasts of England, alive with troops and militiamen, and studded with camps, expected every hour that the enemy would make a descent. The English fleet, surprised by the superior numbers of the enemy, prudently sought a refuge in its own ports.

The expectation that England was about to be conquered by France brought back the ardent Lafayette to Europe, in the hope of consummating in the Old World the glory which he had achieved in the New World. His friend, the young Count de Ségur (who had chafed against the curb of court and parental government, which had hitherto restrained him from joining the French army in America) declares of himself, and his young countrymen detained at Versailles: "In the midst of our exercises, of our fêtes, and of our games—distractions impotent to calm our impatience—our minds were only seriously occupied by one thought, one single wish, which was to see the moment of our embarkation arrive, that we might precipitate ourselves upon the coast of England; all appearances seemed to unite in fortifying our hopes. At

the same time, our coasts were crowded by transport ships, the sight of which filled us with ardour and with hope.”*

“Never,” adds de Ségur, “could one believe one’s self nearer to a noble end, and never was expectation so deceived. The allies pursued the English Admiral (Hardy) without overtaking him, and then presented themselves before Plymouth, with the design of attacking that harbour. An English ship of sixty-four guns, which sailed out of that port, was taken.”†

Once again the winds protected Britannia on the waves, as in the days of the old Armada. Equinoctial gales compelled a separation of the combined fleets, after they had captured the “Ardent,” the English ship before mentioned. Expectation had been wound up in France to the highest pitch. A joyful confidence had animated French and American soldiers fighting side by side across the Atlantic, when they heard that Spain had joined with France against England. America panted with impatient hope of receiving news that France had conquered England.

When Admiral d’Orvilliers returned to France,

* Méms de Ségur, tome i., p. 194.

† Ibid, 195.

beaten back by storm and wind, and England triumphed in her insulated strength, a bitter feeling of discontent and disappointment took possession of the hearts of Frenchmen of all classes. The thrill of dissatisfaction was felt in America. Frenchmen were stimulated to redeem the honour of their country; they fought more bravely than ever in America, in behalf of that Liberty the want of which was felt by their countrymen at home. The camps on the Northern coasts of France were broken up. It was insupportable for courage, ripe for action, thus to be checked by the rulers of the country, the honour of which it was eager to maintain. The result might have been immediately serious, had not news of French victory in the other hemisphere arrived in time to prevent the outbreak of a popular insurrection in France.

Upon the 12th September, 1779, the *Paris Gazette* announced: "Yesterday, at Versailles, a *Te Deum* was sung solemnly, to thank God for the conquest of the Island of Granada, and for the success of the naval combat in which, with the aid of the All-powerful, M. d'Estaing has repulsed Admiral Byron. The King, the Queen, the Royal Family, and all the Court assisted at this

ceremony, during which were seen (the first time since a long while) three flags and two pair of the enemy's colours floating at the foot of the altar of the chapel. They will this day be transported to Notre Dame, with great pomp, where another *Te Deum* will be chanted."

A general illumination was ordered in Paris, although many of the citizens made preparations for lighting up their houses before this order was issued by government. "*In another hemisphere d'Estaing avenges the honour of the French name!*" was declared in letters of fire; whilst Admiral Count d'Orvilliers was pasquinaded in a way to show that if he thought less of confession and more of the cannon, he would be less as a saint, and greater as a sailor.* Public attention was (fortunately for him) drawn from d'Orvilliers, nicknamed "Vice-

* "Vous entendez toujours la messe,
Et n'entendez jamais la raison;
On vous voit aller à confesse
Quand il faut tirer le canon;
Grand dévot n'est qu'un petit homme,
Quittez vos prophanes desseins,
Aujourd'hui que chacun vous nomme
Vice-Amiral des Capucins."

See APPENDIX N.

Admiral of the Capuchins," to Lafayette, who, in the late miscarriage against England, had enlisted himself under the orders of the Duc de Broglie.

The circumstances of the return of Lafayette to France were in marked contrast with those of his departure for America. Then he was a fugitive, declared to be guilty of high treason in flying from his king, his country, his relatives, and his bride, to fight for rebels and insurgents. Now, he was hailed as a hero who had given glory to France in another hemisphere, and who had helped to inaugurate one of the most popular wars that the world had ever seen. For the dignity of old custom, the *lettre de cachet* against him being yet uncanceled, Lafayette was exiled from Court; but the exile was only for one week, and to the Hôtel de Noailles, where he passed the time in the society of his long deserted "*femme chérie*." "I was questioned, complimented, and exiled," says he. "I wrote to the King, begging to know my fault, and, in reply, I received the command of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons. Consulted by all the ministers, and, what was better, caressed by all the women, I found favour at Versailles, and celebrity in Paris."

Lafayette had work to do in France, which was to stimulate his king and country into sending out fresh forces to America, and for the re-conquest of Canada. In the Cabinet of Versailles were two parties; the one was all for America, and the recovery of Canada at any cost; the other dreaded the too great aggrandizement of the United States, and refused to lavish more treasure on the re-conquest of Canada, on the pretext that, before adding a fourteenth state to those which had already declared their independence, it was essential to deliver the thirteen others from the yoke of Great Britain. Moreover, France had lately refused to supply Austria with 14,000 auxiliaries, although pledged by the treaty of Vienna to do so. The Emperor, Joseph II. of Austria, had desired to wrest Bavaria from the Elector Palatine on the death of Maximilian. Frederick of Prussia, as before said, opposed the Emperor Joseph's invasion of Bavaria; therefore, Austria had invoked the aid of France. France suspected Frederick of Prussia, the ally of England in the late war, of being now incited by England to make a diversion so as to neutralize the alliance of France and America, by war in the centre of Europe. France did not send an army into Austria, but only

an offer of mediation. Austria accepted the mediation of France and Russia, and on May 13, 1778, signed the treaty of Teschen, by which "Bavaria re-entered into possession of herself."

The friends of the Austrian alliance in the Cabinet of Versailles jealously regarded the alliance with America as the cause of France having refused to send auxiliary troops into Austria. M. de Vergennes, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had opposed sending those troops, was declared, by the friends of the American alliance, to have saved, by a skilful stroke of policy, all Europe from "the wily schemes of the English Cabinet, which had sought to throw France into the vortex of a Continental war." But this stroke of policy was regarded by the friends of Austria (who believed that the necessity was paramount of keeping on good terms with the central power of Europe), as a Transatlantic infringement on treaties of anterior date to those by which France had bound herself to America. Thus, Lafayette's ardent representations as to the advantages to be derived from the re-conquest of Canada at this time were regarded with anything but unanimity by the Cabinet of Versailles.

It was not to be expected that Necker, the Genevese Protestant, would share the eagerness of Catholic France to repossess herself of Canada. It was a question of Faith and Blood, with which James Necker could have no sympathy, and for which he refused to find the money. D'Estaing, whose victories had just been celebrated at Versailles and at Notre Dame, had published a declaration to the French inhabitants of Canada, previously to his departure from the harbour of Boston, in November, 1778, with a full determination to reduce all the British possessions in the West Indies. D'Estaing's declaration, addressed to French Canadians in the name of their ancient sovereign, the King of France, appealed to their affection to their former Government—to their attachment to their mother-country—to their natural ties and hallowed sympathies of blood, of faith, of language, and of laws: it roused the memories of the Seven Years' War, when Frenchmen, under their brave leader, de Montcalm, fought for Canada against Wolfe and the English; it appealed to their love of Liberty, for which Frenchmen were now fighting with Americans against the English, who had usurped authority

over Canada, and had tyrannized over the United States.

Finally, French Canadians were assured in this declaration that an invasion on their Province, whether by French soldiers or by American soldiers, or by both combined, would be in order to restore to them all their honours and privileges as born subjects of France. French Canadians were, by d'Estaing's declaration, thrown into sore perplexity as to where their true interest lay; England having previously, as already shown, been liberal in promising grants of land and bounty money to all Canadians who would support her cause.

General Haldimand, after his appointment as Governor of Quebec, received various letters from French Canadians, which, now preserved in England, afford curious pictures of French Canadian society in a state of transition, and of the conflict between self-interest, which dictated adhesion to England, and the strong sympathy which still clung to France. From these MSS. the following is selected, as illustrating the sophism of shielding one's own conscience by picking a hole in one's neighbour's reputation. This French Canadian's letter

(anonymous) is addressed to General Haldimand, the English Governor of Quebec :

“After ripe reflection, we can no longer refuse ourselves to the sentiments of zeal and affection which we have for the King” (of England), “and for all who represent him. . . . For a long time past we have suffered from the differences in this district ; and if, until now, we have remained dumb, we had hoped that those who give place to these grievances would have learned to curb their own ambition Some of the judges have received bribes for justice rendered Lawyers rob and pillage their clients A faithful subject of his Majesty is not permitted to tell the truth. People in this place are good royalists in the morning, and good Bostonians at night. They change their decorations as their caprices demand, and as their interest dictates. We would say more—we would give you proofs, were we not warned that you have persons near you who turn you from the welfare of the Government, in pursuit of their own ambitious and detested projects . . . the result will prove your extreme credulity, and our sincerity for the good of this province.

“Sir, we are your admirers, and the most

zealous of your very humble, and very obedient
servants, UNION, PEACE, AND CONCORD.

"Montreal, January 24th, 1780."*

Twenty years of British rule had enabled French Canadians to distinguish temporal from spiritual Government, as another of these letters, written by a French adherent to England, boasts: "The Roman Catholic Church here has a far greater congregation than all the Protestant churches in Canada put together." It seems, therefore, that French Canadians in those days were anxious to take care of their worldly goods, by fidelity to the politics of England, whilst laying up for themselves treasure in heaven, by fidelity to the faith of France.

After his declaration to French Canadians, d'Estaing sailed to Martinique, having had an encounter with Admiral Byron in the Bay of Connecticut—which encounter a violent tempest, doing much damage to ships, both French and English, had cut short. Arrived at Martinique, d'Estaing displayed an order from the King of France to the

* The original of the above letter is in French, as are all others from French Canadians of that date. The perfect order in which these MSS. are now arranged at the British Museum is due to Sir Frederick Madden, who, at much cost and personal trouble, rescued them from destruction.

Governor, M. Bouillé, which order invested d'Estaing with the command of Martinique, and all "Isles of the Winds." Bouillé was reluctantly compelled to submit; but, henceforth, he was no friend of d'Estaing, who lost no time in assembling six thousand men, with whose aid he attempted to reconquer St. Lucia. In this attempt he did not succeed. His desire for conquest being sharpened by the rebuff, he was more fortunate against St. Vincent, and made himself master of Granada by a brisk attack of three thousand men.

The city, situated on a steep mount, was defended by one thousand picked men, under General Macartney, and by a numerous militia.

D'Estaing, sword in hand, conquered all the enemy's positions, one after the other; he made seven hundred men prisoners, and took three flags, several pieces of artillery, and thirty merchant ships, of which many were loaded.

The next day, the English squadron, under Admiral Byron, was signalled as coming to the succour of Granada. D'Estaing attacked that squadron, forced it to fly, and pursued it to St. Christopher, where it took refuge. D'Estaing again defied it there, but the challenge was not accepted.

D'Estaing, unable to restrain his ardour, and despairing of provoking Byron to combat, decided upon attacking Savannah, which was then converted by the English into a store of arms, and from whence they continually made excursions disastrous for Georgia and the two Carolinas.

At Savannah, d'Estaing disembarked his troops under the American General Lincoln, and summoned his "Excellency General Prevost to surrender to the arms of the King of France." (The omission of America in this summons was remarked in the dispatches of General Prevost to the Cabinet of England, and was afterwards commented upon in the *London Gazette*, as significant of the intentions of France to turn the American rebellion to her own individual advantage.)

"Count d'Estaing summons his Excellency General Prevost to surrender to the arms of the King of France. He apprizes him that he will be personally responsible for all the events and misfortunes that may arise from a defence which, by the superiority of the force which attacks him both by sea and land, is rendered manifestly vain and of no effect.*

"Dated Camp before Savannah, Sept. 16, 1779."

* Translation of copies of letters which passed between Count

To which letter General Prevost replied :

"I hope your Excellency will have a better opinion of me, and of British troops, than to think either will surrender on a general summons without any specific terms. If you, sir, have anything to propose, that may with honour be accepted by me, you can mention it, and I will then give my answer. In the meantime, I promise, upon my honour, that nothing with my consent or knowledge shall be destroyed in either this town or river. (Signed) "A. PREVOST."

"Addressed to His Excellency Count d'Estaing,
Commanding the French Forces."

D'Estaing then reminded General Prevost that "it is the part of the besieged to propose such terms as they may desire;" whereupon Prevost proposed a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours. This truce was consented to by d'Estaing and General Lincoln. But now comes recrimination between the French and the English, and much discrepancy between original dispatches on either side. The dispatches of Count d'Estaing, written by himself,* declare, that within the time of truce d'Estaing and General Prevost.—London Gazette, Dec. 25th, 1779.

* Gazette de France; same date as English Gazette.

agreed upon the English General received reinforcements. General Prevost, in his journal of the siege of Savannah, excuses this by explaining: "On the 17th, by noon, and in the night before, all the rest of the men, fit for duty, arrived from Beaufort, and took their posts in the line. The enemy being in possession of the ship 'Channel,' Colonel Maitland was obliged to go round and land on the marshes; and, dragging his boats empty through a cut, got into Savannah river, above the enemy, and so to this place I then reviewed the troops under arms at their posts: (all in high spirits, and the most pleasing confidence expressed upon every face)—the sailors not to be prevented from giving three cheers."

It would seem, by impartial comparison of the French and English statements of this broken truce, that both sides were so eager for action as to make it almost impossible for the commanders on either side to restrain their troops. For again Count d'Estaing writes to General Prevost:

"I do not know whether two columns commanded by the Viscount de Noailles, and the Count de Dillon,* have shown too much ardour, or

* The two friends of Lafayette, who were the confidants,

whether your cannoniers have not paid a proper respect to the truce subsisting between us; but this I know, that what has happened this night is a fresh proof that matters will soon come to a decision between us one way or the other.

D'Estaing and Lincoln now commanded a regular siege. D'Estaing conducted the attack in person. The English still continued to work hard at their redoubts and batteries, whilst boats and other craft belonging to the French sailed up the main creek, laden with cannon and stores. Upon the 22nd the French appeared in force all along the front of the English; and upon the morning of the 24th, when a heavy fog cleared off, it was found that they had sapped the ground close up to the English intrenchments. General Prevost wrote to d'Estaing once more; his letter, as he declared, being dictated by sentiments of humanity. "The houses of Savannah," said he in this letter, "are occupied solely by women and children. Several of them have applied to me, that I might request the favour of your allowing them to embark on board a ship or ships, and to go down the river under the

before his flight to America, of his projects in favour of Liberty.

protection of yours, until this business is decided. If you are so good as to grant this requisition, my wife and children, with a few servants, shall be the first to profit by the indulgence."

To this letter Count d'Estaing and General Lincoln conjointly replied, that although General Prevost's "zeal might have already interfered with his judgment, yet he must remember he had been warned that he, personally, and alone, would be responsible for his own obstinacy in not surrendering to the arms of France and America." His request was refused. This refusal indicates how concentrated was the animosity nourished by d'Estaing against the English—an animosity derived from a sense of personal injury sustained at their hands in the last war.

In face of the enemy, the fierce impulse of d'Estaing's character now displayed itself. Upon the 9th of October, the French attacked the English lines. Daylight had not dawned, and the French, having taken a wider circuit than they intended, found themselves in swampy ground. This somewhat disconcerted their order. D'Estaing, however, recovered this. Obstacles only exasperated him to overcome them. In the intrench-

ments he tore up the palissades with his hands and teeth.* Cheering his men forward, he advanced, and succeeded in planting the French and American colours on the parapet. While doing so, many French and American soldiers were shot dead by the English : dying, they believed themselves victorious, although some who were wounded survived to see the colours that had cost them their lives, quickly torn down again, and the flag of England waving once more in their stead. The fire of the British seamen's batteries was constant and heavy. English cannon caught the French and Americans in every direction. D'Estaing was wounded. Stung into fresh fury by pain, and by the enemy's obstinate resistance, he cheered his men afresh, and still led them on, whilst the blood, unstaunched, streamed in their sight from his wound. A second time d'Estaing was wounded ; again he scorned the surgeon's aid ; and, reviling the fears expressed by his followers for his life, he persevered with an energy which seemed superhuman. Twice, the French and Americans crossed the intrenchments. Blinded by English fire, and mowed down by English case-shot, they were twice driven back. According

* Nouvelle Biographie. Art. D'Estaing. Paris, 1834.

to the French returns, twelve hundred men, Frenchmen and Americans, perished. Amongst those who fell was Pulawski, the brave Pole, who, when Poland was ravaged by Russia and Prussia, had defended the cause of liberty in the Old World. At last, d'Estaing, repulsed on every side by the bravery of the English, was obliged to retreat over heaps of the dead, dying, and wounded, he himself in danger of falling from loss of blood by the way. He, and the remnant of his brave followers, regained their ships, re-embarked in a fog, and sailed back to the Antilles.*

D'Estaing had also been wounded when attack-

* "About ten o'clock upon the morning of the 9th of Oct., a truce was desired by the French and Americans, and leave to bury their dead and to carry off their wounded. This was granted by the English, 'for those who lay at a distance, or out of sight of the English lines;' those within or near our abbatis," says General Prevost, "we buried, 203 on the right, and on the left 28—and delivered 116 wounded prisoners, the greatest part mortally. A good many were buried by the enemy; many were self buried in the mud of the swamp; and no doubt many were carried off. Many deserters came to us. Sick and wounded, of which there were a great number, were embarked. After the engagement a great deal of civility passed between us and the French, and many apologies were made for the refusal of sending the women and children out of the town."—Extract of a letter from General Prevost to Lord G. Germaine.

ing Granada. The young Vicomte de Noailles and Arthur Dillon there also distinguished themselves at the head of two French columns, as they did at Savannah. The Comte Théodore de Lameth, another hero of Granada, was despatched to France with news of the victories. We have seen with what enthusiasm the intelligence was received in France. D'Estaing himself returned to France after his unsuccessful siege of Savannah. His dauntless courage and energy shone forth the more in contrast to the conduct of D'Orvilliers, who had lost such brilliant opportunities of distinguishing himself. D'Estaing was enthusiastically welcomed home by his countrymen. The sight of his wounds affected them; the sight of the flags and colours which he had won from the English, now waving in the church of Notre Dame, stimulated their zeal for the cause in which he had fought and bled. But d'Estaing had enemies. Bouillé, the Governor of Martinique, whom he had displaced, was not his friend. It began to be whispered that d'Estaing in his despatches had sounded his own praises too highly. "It was not thus," said some in Paris, "that Cæsar wrote his commentaries." America, too, was discontented

at d'Estaing having summoned the Governor of Savannah to surrender in the name only of the King of France.

The Count de Grasse* had joined d'Estaing at Martinique, this Lieutenant-General of French naval armies having sailed from Brest with four vessels of the line and some frigates. He was also present at Granada ; but, having been detained by contrary winds, he only arrived at the end of that action ; and thus the elements again protected the English, and helped to save Admiral Byron from defeat.

The following year the Count de Grasse assisted in the various combats that the Count de Guichen, who had replaced the Count d'Estaing, maintained against Admiral Rodney, with equal loss on both sides. The Count de Guichen, however, looked forward to the conquest of Jamaica, and other isles, when he was joined by a Spanish squadron, under Don Solano ; but the French and Spanish admirals proverbially differed in their plan of attack. The health of the French fleet

* François-Joseph-Paule, Comte de Grasse, born in Provence, 1723 ; died in Paris, 1788. Was notorious for courage and ability, but was at length taken prisoner by Admiral Rodney, and was not released until after the peace.

was bad. De Ségur and other Frenchmen congratulate the English on their having understood sanitary science better than the French did. A contagious malady affected the French fleets, and rendered it impossible for them to form any important enterprise.

The consequences of the check at Savannah had been fatal to the French. Lord Cornwallis had seized Georgia and the two Carolinas; soon he made himself master of Charlestown. Royalists and Tories seemed once more in the ascendant. In the meanwhile, America appealed to France for fresh aid, and even reproached France for having abandoned her in this, the most imminent crisis. George Washington, the friend and confidant of Lafayette, re-assured the Congress. Firm, courageous, unshaken by difficulties and dangers, George Washington maintained strict discipline in his army of the North, and trusted to France and to the virtue of the cause she had espoused.

Lafayette was still in France. He had foreseen this time when America would be disheartened, and when the government at Versailles would be backward in the fulfilment of promises. Lafayette knew that the Cabinet of Versailles would not at

present second his views concerning Canada (for reasons already named). He, therefore, had curbed his own enthusiasm in favour of the Canadian project, and had executed a bold resolution, which, as it turned out, was justified, as his other resolutions had been, by success.

When first Lafayette returned to France, he had been enjoined by one political party in America not to demand auxiliary troops for the United States. A popular jealousy had sprung up in America against the allies who reaped and wore the laurels which she had planted. Some members of Congress, therefore, feared that fresh auxiliaries would excite fresh discontent. Lafayette, though appearing to heed these suggestions, knew their fallacy, and determined to act in his own country without regarding them. In the name, therefore, of the Congress of America, he demanded of the Cabinet of Versailles a succour of auxiliary troops for the United States ; and had even fixed on the port of Rhode Island, evacuated by the English, for the reception of these troops. He had obtained the promise of 6,000 men (to be sent out under Count Rochambeau), and was urging on the equipment of these troops, just as America

discovered that she could not afford to indulge in jealousy of her ally, and was beginning to cry out for help in the crisis which he had foreseen.* In the meanwhile, Lafayette had armed himself against the chances that might have exposed him at home, as the self-constituted originator of this scheme, by writing to M. de Vergennes :

“ Feb. 14, 1779.

“ . . . The indiscretion of several members of Congress, and the number of officers returning from America, will always spread reports impossible to stifle. Truth cannot remain concealed but by hiding herself in a crowd of false reports ; that is the only resource by which our secrets in America can be saved from some inconveniences resulting from the form of government there.”†

Lafayette, in France, was only thinking of how to help America at the expense of his own country. Fêtes were given to him at Versailles, but he confesses that at each of these he was calculating how far the cost of such sumptuous honours rendered to him would go towards achieving perfect liberty in the Western world, if so applied. De Maure-

* *Mémoires Historiques, sur les armées, 1779, 1780, 1781.* Lafayette. Bruxelles, 1837.

† *Correspondance de Lafayette.* Tome i., p. 200.

pas made a shrewd guess at the truth when he declared : "To help America, this young French hero would gladly ransack Versailles."

In the matter of raising fresh auxiliaries, chance favoured him. It really seemed as though Lafayette were acting by unanimous desire of Congress ; for, whilst urging the Government at home on this point, Congress sent over a sword to him, in the name of the American people, with the following letter to Louis XVI :

"We recommend this noble young man to the attention of your Majesty, because we have seen him wise in council, brave upon the field of battle, and patient in the midst of the fatigues of war."*

How could the Cabinet of Versailles doubt Lafayette, thus armed and recommended ?

Dr. Franklin was deputed to have this sword appropriately engraved, previously to presentation. Upon one side of it were represented the engagements in which Lafayette had taken part, with America offering a branch of laurel to a young warrior. Upon the other side, the same young warrior is portrayed in the act of inflicting a mortal wound on the British Lion. Also on the other

* Nouvelle Biographie, Paris, 1830.

side, mottoes : "*Crescam ut prosim.*" "*Cur non?*" which latter Lafayette had adopted on his departure from America.

Lafayette was at Havre when this sword was presented to him by the hands of Dr. Franklin's grandson (the son of the unfortunate William Franklin, Tory and Royalist, whose letter to Washington we have elsewhere considered).

Lafayette at Havre was meditating the descent on England. Dr. Franklin sent a letter to Lafayette with the sword ; this letter is dated, "Passy Aug. 24, 1779," and concludes :

"The Congress ordered that this sword should be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war in which you have distinguished yourself by your valour and good conduct" (Monmouth, Barren-Hill, Gloucester, and Rhode Island) "are represented upon it Thanks to the excellent artists of France, I see that it is very easy to express all, save the sentiment that we have of your merit and our obligations towards you."*

Thus, we see, Dr. Franklin, the philosopher of

* *Mémoires Historiques sur les armées*, 1778, 1779, 1780. Tome i., p. 179.

Philadelphia, having inhaled the atmosphere of the Court of Versailles, was imbued with the essence of French politeness. The week before the date of this letter, Dr. Franklin had been installed as "The Venerable" at the Freemason's Lodge of "The Nine Sisters," in Paris, where the Apotheosis of Voltaire had been celebrated the preceding year. A grand fête had been given at the lodge in honour of Dr. Franklin's inauguration, to which fête ("purely academical, but diversified by music and readings") ladies were admitted.* The Maréchale de Luxembourg (to whom Voltaire, in his last days, had prophesied the necessity of war between England and France) had been created Grand-Mistress of the Freemasons. Philosophers assembled in the salons of Madame de Luxembourg, although she still maintained the *haut ton* of the noblesse of the time of Louis XV. Everywhere the spirit of Liberty crept in: "that spirit of Liberty which was gradually changing the face of the world, by enlightening it, and unhappily, also, by shaking all its foundations." The accomplished Chevalier de la Luzerne was sent out as minister by France to

* Mems. de Bachaumont.

America in 1779. Upon the 12th of June in that year, Lafayette had written to Washington :

“Referring you to the Chevalier de la Luzerne for all that concerns the news of the moment, I will only say one word to you upon the great subject—Money. I am so much occupied about this, and have insisted so strongly upon it, that M. Necker, the Finance Director, fears me like the devil. France has lately made great outlays; those Spaniards do not yield their dollars freely. Nevertheless, Dr. Franklin has obtained the money necessary for defraying the Congress bills, and I hope to determine the Government here to make greater sacrifices. To serve America, my dear General, is an inexpressible joy to my heart For the love of Heaven, prevent those internal quarrels, the reports of which are more injurious than anything else to the interests and reputation of America I have a wife, my dear General, who loves you, and her affection is too well justified for me to oppose it. . . . I hope soon again to be a father.”*

* The Congress had been divided against itself upon some points, and, what was of at least equal consequence, the American generals, Washington and Lee, had been at issue respecting military tactics in more than one recent engagement. General Lee,

The reception of the French envoy, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, at Boston, was very different from that with which Lafayette had been greeted at Versailles. The Chevalier, not having an-

by his own request, was tried by court-martial, and, on the 5th of December, 1778, was condemned for disobedience to orders, for disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief, and for having made an unnecessary retreat. General Lee then termed the court-martial a "Court of Inquisition," and retired to his estate in Virginia, "to learn," as he said, "to hoe tobacco, for my latest discovery is, that that is the best school to form a consummate General." This sarcasm on Washington was bitterly retorted by the American press on Lee. In the *Pennsylvania Packet, or General Advertiser*, of April 13, 1779, just after Lee's retirement, there is a fierce attack on the retired General. The following extracts will show what 'slashing articles' American editors indulged in nearly 100 years ago:—

"TO GENERAL LEE.—This town is not an Athens; nor are you, sir, a Diogenes; for though, from the derivation of the word, you might be called a cynic, and draw some resemblance from your living in a dog-kennel, a place almost as closely circumscribed as a tub" (Lee's house was small), "yet you have so little pretence to philosophy, that you can never be ranked with that ancient. . . . What sense of honour a man can have who has been seven or eight months in this city damning Washington . . . and threatening to resign—'aye, God damn them, that you would,' and frowning and dancing like a Caledonian stung by a Tarantula, and yet continuing to retain your commission, is a question to be proposed to the Academies. . . .—I am, sir,

"THE COMPILER OF THE 'UNITED STATES MAGAZINE.'"

"P.S.—Your military and political reputation will be more directly considered in my next."—Transcribed from newspaper above named, date April 13, 1779.

nounced himself to Congress, did not choose to be received in his public character; and even "if he had," says Washington, "it was not my intention to depart from that plain and simple manner of living which accords with the real interest and policy of men struggling under every difficulty for the attainment of the most inestimable blessing of life—Liberty."

The Chevalier was welcomed to the mountains of America with the thunder of artillery, and was received with stern simplicity; but "he was polite enough," adds Washington, "to approve my principle, and condescended to appear pleased with our Spartan living. In a word, he made us all exceedingly happy by his affability and good-humour while he remained in camp."*

In September, 1779, Washington wrote to Lafayette; and his letter will show how great the hope had been in America as to the result of the descent of France and Spain upon England, and how great, therefore, in proportion, must have been the disappointment, when the news of the failure of that expedition reached America. After ex-

* Washington Irving's *Life of Washington*. Vol. iii., p. 1078. London, 1856. APPENDIX O.

pressing the wish of Mrs. Washington and himself that Lafayette, on his return to America, would bring his wife, the young Marquise (*née* de Noailles), with him, Washington writes :—

“The declaration of Spain in favour of France has spread an universal joy among all the Whigs, while the poor Tory withers like a flower which fades before the setting of the sun. . . . We await with anxiety news of great and important events on your side of the Atlantic, . . . Our eyes turn first to a descent upon England, then upon an expedition to Ireland, to Minorca, to Gibraltar—in a word, we hope everything. . . The glorious success of the Count d’Estaing in the Antilles, at the same time that it increases the possessions of France, and adds a new lustre to her arms, is an unexpected source of new misfortunes to *our tender and generous mother*, England; . . . and, as no experience is worth that which is dearly bought, I have confidence that she will turn these sort of lessons to her own profit, . . . they will, I hope, teach all the tyrants in the world that the only assured road which leads to honour, to glory, and to true dignity, is justice ! . . .” *

* Correspondances, 1779. Bruxelles, 1837.

As we have seen, Washington was precipitate in this reflection on England—the winds frustrating the descent of France and Spain upon her coasts, and d’Estaing’s loss at Savannah going far to counterbalance the glory he had previously acquired. Unwarned by the unexpected number and improvements of the French ships in the Channel skirmish the preceding year, between the Duc de Chartres, d’Orvilliers, and Admiral Keppel, England was again taken by surprise at the strength of the French and Spanish Navy, as exhibited in the British Channel in 1779. The Channel Islands, alarmed, were bristling with defensive preparations. Harry Conway (who was afterwards appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces) was at this time in Jersey. Harry Conway had fought bravely in the last war against the French, and was the intimate friend and correspondent of Horace Walpole. He was the husband of the accomplished Countess of Ailesbury, and the father of the celebrated amateur sculptor, Anne Damer, to whom Horace Walpole bequeathed Strawberry Hill. His wife in London was in terror at her husband’s position in Jersey. His daughter, crossing in an English packet from

Dover to Ostend, was captured by the French, but was gallantly treated and soon released. To the Countess of Ailesbury, Horace Walpole thus writes on the private and political events in which she was personally interested :

“ Friday Night, 1779.

“ I am not at all surprised, my dear Madame, at the intrepidity of Mrs. Damer; she always was the heroic daughter of a hero. . . . I am far from thinking, . . . with your ladyship, . . . that more troops and artillery at Jersey would be desirable, . . . when so big a cloud hangs over this island; nor would any number avail if the French should be masters at sea. , . . My present comfort as to Mr. Conway is, that France has a far greater object (than Jersey). . . . Our fleet is allowed to be the finest ever set forth by this country—but *it is inferior, by seventeen ships, to the united squadron of the Bourbons*. France, if successful, means to pour in a vast many thousands on us, and has threatened to burn the capital itself. Jersey does not enter into a calculation of such magnitude.”

Walpole was wrong. The Duc de Lauzun—*bon soldat, mauvais sujet*—has since revealed how

a secret expedition against Jersey was only postponed by the advice of Marshal Broglie—"ministers preferring to yield rather than to dispute."

Notwithstanding the superiority of the Bourbon Fleets over that of Great Britain, the ship-building that was still continued in France did not keep pace with Lafayette's impatience. He therefore recommended the following plan for the more rapid augmentation of the French Navy to M. de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Versailles :—

"Do you not think, M. le Comte, that if, without doing a wrong to his little fleet of observation, the King of Sweden lent four vessels of the line to America, with their equipments, that the United States would engage themselves to fulfil certain conditions in a year, and that this bargain would turn to our profit? The ships would arrive under a Swedish flag. France would meddle in nothing. We would buy them in the port; we would place officers in blue over them, and fly the American flag at the moment of embarkation. . . . It would only be necessary for France to pledge herself for the hire of those ships, and to perfect their arma-

ment. . . . I have not yet spoken on this matter to M. le Docteur Franklin, but I have felt the pulse of the Swedish ambassador, and am satisfied with it. . . .” *

(Lately Lafayette had complained to M. de Vergennes that the fifty-gun vessel, the “Bonhomme Richard,” named after one of Dr. Franklin’s books, was making but slow progress.)

The Dutch had another plan of assisting France upon the seas. (The Dutch were professedly neutral, but secretly allied with France). They converted the rebel trading vessels into Dutch bottoms, which secured them, by that subterfuge, from being taken by English cruisers; and, as the *Political Magazine* (the organ of the English King and Tories) indignantly declares: The “Dutch, to

* Correspondances, 1778, 1779, 1780. Bruxelles, 1837. The year 1755 had afforded a precedent for Lafayette’s scheme. M. de Bouillé, then Minister of Marine, proposed, and effectually carried out a plan for buying up ships of other countries, of borrowing them, or of taking possession of them, on the plea of their being engaged in piracy. In the same memorial, wherein de Bouillé urges this scheme on the attention of the Cabinet, another plan is proposed, of hiring sailors by corruption; the argument being that, let the common sailor’s country be what it may, his only legitimate Prince is Money.—(Arrêts de Versailles, 1755.) By the same rule as that above named, had Frederick of Prussia increased his army.

crown their treachery, ingratitude, and insolence, entered into a league with our rebel Colonies. All this they did against their best benefactor, England weakly and vainly imagining that our being involved in war with so many powerful enemies, would induce us tamely to submit to such flagrant treacheries. But our Ministry possessed too much vigour to be any longer dupes of Dutch knavery, and war ensued."

The facilities afforded by Dutch-bottomed rebel trading vessels—indignantly declaimed against in England in 1781—may have helped to bring about the disastrous fate of Henry Laurens, formerly president of Congress.

"Henry Laurens was sent by America (1780) to Holland, there to conclude a treaty and to negotiate a loan. . . . In August he took passage from Martinique for Holland in a Dutch packet,—the 'Mercury,'—which, when three days out at sea, was captured by the British frigate 'Vestal;' and Henry Laurens, with his Secretary and the Captain of the Dutch packet, were sent prisoners to England. In England a question arose in the King's Cabinet, as to whether Laurens should be

treated as a prisoner of war or as a traitor. The result was, that he was committed to the Tower for high treason—the warrant being signed by Lords Stormont, Hillsborough, and G. Germaine, three Secretaries of State.”*

For the present, we must leave him there. Great depression fell upon the leaders of the American and French armies when news reached them of the failure of the joint expedition of France and Spain against England. Even Washington, who has shown us how much he had hoped as to the result of this descent upon the coasts of England, was proportionately disappointed. The severest hardships of war were now endured by the American insurgents. At the opening of the year 1780, Washington’s soldiers were in want of food and clothing. The winter was remarkably early and cold. Washington wrote to Congress on the 8th of January, 1780 :

“The troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing from want. They merit approbation for the patience with which they have borne their sufferings, and ought to excite the sympathies of their countrymen.”

* Spark’s Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 46.

The news reached London how Americans were now punished for their rebellion; and the Tory press was not slow in publishing the hardships which were the consequence of "Independence." There was a homily in those hardships, which Englishmen at home and at ease, sitting by their warm firesides, read as showing the danger of disobedience to constituted authority; and which Americans, cold and hungry in the camp, interpreted as a trial of their faith in the cause for which they were martyrs. They were a ragged army of martyrs, but they believed that their cause was a glorious cause, and that belief sustained them.

"Congress had commenced the war without adequate funds, and without the power of imposing direct taxes. To meet pressing emergencies, it had issued paper money, which, for a time, passed current at par; but sank in value as further issues succeeded, and that already in circulation remained unredeemed."* Washington, therefore, until further help should arrive from France, was compelled, by the distresses of his army, to throw himself upon the mercy of the counties of the State. His appeal was heartily responded to.

* Life of Washington. Washington Irving. Vol. iv., p. 1082.

Farmers supplied their countrymen in arms with provisions, and farmer's wives and daughters knitted and sewed for "the soldiery." The relief, however, was only temporary, and utterly inefficient, especially as the cold increased. The bay of New York was frozen over. The strait which separated Washington and his troops from the enemy was now a bridge of ice. To keep up the spirits of his men Washington hazarded a surprise on the British force, which resulted disastrously to the Americans, and caused many of the farmers who had supplied the insurgent army with necessities of life, to suffer severely at the hands of the enemy.

It is impossible to conceive what would have been the fate of Washington himself, or to calculate on the issue of the American Rebellion, had not Lafayette gone over to France, and, having taken the law into his own hands, as we have seen, succeeded in raising fresh supplies for America.

Lafayette's letters were as angels' messages to Washington, although the country they came from was daily drawing nearer to the hell of revolution rather than to the heaven of peace. France

seemed, however, only to be amusing herself by turning the most serious events of the times into jest. There was some philosophy in this, on the plea that "no man is a judge of his own troubles until he sees the ludicrous side of them." Satire in the eighteenth century, in France, was a necessity, as the only ventilator of public opinion. Public opinion was fast breaking down old barriers and tyrannous restrictions, but the press was still gagged. Nevertheless, Government could not attack an anonymous lampooner, except in extreme cases of personal slander, although there was danger to constituted authority beneath the mask of Comus. Satire, however, sometimes acted as a momentary safety-valve for popular discontent. Thus, in the case of the abortive descent of d'Orvilliers upon England, popular opinion, which had been alarmingly excited against that "Admiral of the Capuchins," as it nicknamed d'Orvilliers, seemed afterwards to evaporate in a *jeu d'esprit*, which invested certain actors and actresses with the command of the French fleet, according to supposed characteristic affinity between them and certain naval officers.*

* "A division has taken place in the combined fleets of the

At Versailles, young French nobles, forbidden by Government to fight abroad, and by custom to speak at home in the councils of their country, pasquinaded tyranny, injustice, and the inertness of rulers. "Salons," says de Ségur, "were our battle-fields; restricted from real fighting, we showed by light skirmishes that our compressed liberty was a fire that was smothered, but not extinct." The Duc de Choiseul declared that "Ministers' watches are always too slow by six months." Young de Ségur, jealous at the sight of Lafayette crowned with laurels which a tardy Government had forbidden him to share, made rebellious rhymes. The King called young de Ségur to account for his treasonable rhymes one day, when out hunting with him. (De Lauzun declares that these royal hunts wearied

Queens 'Venus' and 'Melpomene.' The two parties are ready to come to a civil war; jealousy is the principle of this disorder. . . . The 'White Squadron' flies the flag of Queen Venus, the 'Red Squadron' flies the flag of Queen Melpomene. . . . 'Le Duras' (of the white squadron) is commanded by Admiral Vestris (the veteran dancer). This ship of 100 guns has more appearance than solidity! . . . &c., &c., &c. 'Le Talent' (of the red squadron) is commanded by Admiral Sainval the elder (the best actress in Paris at that time). This ship of 120 guns has a superb battery, &c., &c., &c., &c."—*Supplément (Imaginary) à la Gazette de France*, Septembre 27, 1779.

him to death.) De Ségur loved the King, although he hated the Government; he was just about to throw himself on his Majesty's mercy to pardon his pen and to employ his sword; but, remembering the fate of old Maurepas (who had been exiled twenty years for a rhyme), de Ségur stammered forth, "Sire, I have unfortunately made too many songs in my life to know to which your Majesty now alludes." "It contains," said the King, "*licentious couplets on les Jaloux trompés.*" De Ségur, pretending to think that his Majesty's morals as a man were outraged, and not his dignity as a King, rode close to the side of his bridle, and, in a low voice, improvised some other couplets, which were licentious enough, but not litigious. The King disapproved as a moralist, but was satisfied as a monarch, and de Ségur's ready wit thus saved him. In 1779 Paris was not in good humour with the Duc de Chartres, because it then began to be whispered that it was partly owing to his jealousy against d'Orvilliers that the attempted descent on England had failed. The laurels with which the Duc de Chartres had been crowned at the Opera, after his encounter, on the British Channel, with Keppel, were now faded beside the fresher ones of

Lafayette and d'Estaing. The Duc de Chartres was one evening, in 1779, at a ball at the Opera House, reviewing all the women there, in company with M. le Comte de Genlis. The Count pointed out one of these ladies who had a fine figure, for the prince's admiration. "Bah!" said the prince, "she's *passée*." The lady heard the word, and, indignantly turning round on the prince, "Monseigneur," said she, "then in that case I am like your fame."

Sarcasm against Government was present at the balls and fêtes given by order of Government in honour of Lafayette. But Lafayette, accustomed now to fight with the sword rather than with the tongue, was impatient, in the midst of French festivities, to return to America, there to unsheath the sword she had sent over to him. The hardships to which Washington and his brave troops were exposed in America presented themselves to Lafayette in gloomy contrast to the frivolities of France by which he found himself surrounded. This contrast was a satire that taught Lafayette how to appreciate the "Rights of Man," which, in later years he propounded to France with terrible reality. At length, having hastened Government in

the equipment of Count Rochambeau and his troops for American service, Lafayette once more set sail across the Atlantic, not this time as a fugitive under attainder of high treason, but on board of a frigate which the King of France had given to him for his passage. At the entrance of the port of Boston, on the 27th April, 1780, Lafayette wrote to General Washington :

“I am here, my dear General, joyful at once more finding myself one of your faithful soldiers. . . . The day after to-morrow I shall start to join my beloved and reverend General and friend, who will easily recognize the hand of his young soldier. Adieu.”*

* Correspondance, 1780. P. 281.

CHAPTER IV.

Jean Baptiste, Count de Rochambeau—His early life in cloister, camp, and court—Count Rochambeau in America—Rochambeau, George Washington, and Lafayette—Rochambeau's letter to Lafayette—The Abbé Robin's description of Boston in the eighteenth century—Religious sects and the sabbath in Boston, 1780—Change in the War and Marine ministry at Versailles—Queen Marie Antoinette and Cabinet Ministers' wives—The Queen nominates a new War Minister—The Queen is opposed by Count de Maurepas—The Queen's complaint to the Duchesse de Polignac—The Queen opposes the King's Prime Minister—A short-lived strong government at Versailles—The Queen's *Bonté Incorrigible*—Necker's Reforms—Necker's "Account Rendered"—Necker's enemies—Original pamphlet against Necker—Thé Count d'Artois at the Temple—Turgot's letter against Necker—Charges against Necker—Necker resigns—Malignity of Maurepas—Necker exiled—Portraits of Necker, of his wife, and of his daughter, by Madame de Genlis—Grand assembly of the clergy in Paris—Religious revivals in Paris—Pope Clement XIV. and Pope Pius VI.—Letter

of Pope Clement XIV. to a Protestant minister—A Scotch fanatic's attempt to convert the Pope—Contemporary sketches of Pope Pius VI.—Voltaire's letter on the necessity of religion for the people—Contemporary caricature of Voltaire and Rousseau—Social effects of their opinions in 1781—Demand in France for social equality—The Queen takes her daughter to see Nun Louise.

JEAN BAPTISTE, Count de Rochambeau, who, in 1780, was in command of the auxiliary corps sent out by France to the United States of America, was born in 1725, at Vendôme, where his father was Governor. Jean Baptiste was a younger son; and, as such, was destined for the priesthood, whilst his elder brother followed their father's career of arms. Jean Baptiste had been taught to obey. Church creed and old régime family custom left little room for self-will in France in the middle of the eighteenth century; therefore, Jean Baptiste was literally just about to submit to the tonsure at the hands of the Bishop of Blois, when news arrived that his elder brother was dead. The Bishop stopped his scissors. The Church had lost a priest; the State had gained a soldier, who would command others none the worse for having himself learned and practised the lessons of obedience. The

Bishop improved the occasion ; his homily was not lost, although its original intention was reversed.

“Now,” said he to Jean Baptiste, “you must serve your King and country with the same zeal with which you would have served God and the Church.” From the tutelage of the Bishop of Blois, young Count de Rochambeau was removed to that of Marshal Saxe.

It was war time. Louis XV. was then the “Well Beloved” of his people, and the hero of Flanders. Marshal Saxe was fighting for the King of France. The camp was a stirring change to young Rochambeau, who had been reared in monastic seclusion ; but he carried the best lessons of his youth into the camp, and practised them there.*

His name is honourably mentioned by Marshal Saxe, in his dispatches after the siege of Namur. One day Rochambeau climbed a height

* The brave and brilliant, but dissolute, Duc de Lauzun says of him, “He never spoke but of war-facts. In the plain, in your chamber, on your table, on your snuff-box, if you only drew it forth from your pocket, de Rochambeau was always ready to execute military *mauvœuvres*. He was exclusively full of his vocation.” De Rochambeau, faithful to the Cross and to the Crown, was a rebuke to de Lauzun, who—true to his time—was constant to neither.

to reconnoitre, and found only two of the enemy's sentinels, who were sleeping. He hastened to impart this intelligence to the Count de Clermont, who profited by it to make a sudden and seasonable attack, and Namur was taken. Throughout the various sieges of that war, Rochambeau distinguished himself. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he married, and appeared at the Court of Versailles, whither his fame in the camp had preceded him. Old Marshal Belleisle, the veteran of the French army, the military adviser of Louis XV. in this, the most brilliant part of his reign, and the political tutor of Madame de Pompadour, had sounded Rochambeau's praises at Versailles, declaring that he was the example of the garrison.

The young Count's wounds, his narrow escape from being a priest, and his recent marriage, all added to the eager expectation which awaited him at Versailles ; but he was not popular there. His monastic education had not prepared him to shine in a court where *badinage* was in vogue, where the gay Abbé de Bernis introduced the most serious considerations to the King's notice under the form of brilliant metaphor, where Voltaire wrote plays

which the King and the Court acted, and where Madame de Pompadour, before the dark days of retribution overshadowed her, reigned supreme—her policy being to amuse the King, whom she charmed even more by her wit and varied talents than by her *mobile* and incomparable beauty. How should Count Rochambeau, trained for the cloister, shine in such a court as this? He was happier in garrison. In time he succeeded his father in the government of Vendôme. His military rule was so strict and just, that his regiment (de la Marche) was pronounced perfect, and, during the Seven Years' War, was demanded by Marshal Duc de Richelieu for the conquest of Minorca. It was Rochambeau who suggested the mode by which French soldiers in Minorca were restrained from drunkenness, viz.—by the threat that no man found drunk should have the honour of mounting the trenches—(which, as Madame de Pompadour said, was, “of not having his head broken.” “Ou le point d'honneur va-t-il se nicher?” she asked).* The same year that Minorca was conquered by the French (1756), Rochambeau was

* Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV., vol. ii., p. 187.

made Chevalier of St. Louis, and Brigadier of Infantry; and, during the whole of the Seven Years' War which followed, he bravely distinguished himself. In the interval between then and 1780, when he set sail for America, with the auxiliary corps which, by stratagem, Lafayette had succeeded in gaining from France, Rochambeau had perfected himself in military tactics, had helped to train a new generation of French soldiers, and, by his conduct as a man, had evinced that the homily of the Bishop of Blois was not forgotten by him. Rochambeau was in all respects welcome to General Washington. There was an affinity of character between them, which soon led to mutual appreciation and respect. Washington submitted to Rochambeau's experience in not risking rash attacks upon the enemy; whilst in other things, Rochambeau, notwithstanding his rank, age, and military position, rendered all honour to Washington, as Generalissimo of the American forces. The calm and matured judgment of Rochambeau was somewhat of a restraint to the ardent and impetuous Lafayette, who had been welcomed back with popular enthusiasm to America; who was received there on his return with tears of joy by

Washington, and who had brought with him swords, and flags, and orders from France for the American army. Lafayette's enthusiasm was contagious. His impulse electrified others. The ladies of Baltimore made 2,000 guineas' worth of linen into shirts for the ragged American militiamen, which linen Lafayette had bought with money raised on his bill by the merchants of Baltimore. Rochambeau's discretion was a safeguard to Lafayette's zeal, although the ardour of Lafayette's soul could sometimes but ill endure to be curbed by age and experience. The defence of Virginia was confided to Lafayette. Virginia was then menaced by Arnold and Cornwallis. Cornwallis declared of Lafayette, "The boy shall not escape me." The "boy's" impetuosity was only too likely to verify the words of Cornwallis, had it not been checked by the prudent counsels of Rochambeau, Lafayette was inclined to resist these counsels. Rochambeau patiently remonstrated with him in the following letter, dated—

"Newport, August, 1780.

"Permit an old father, my dear marquis, to reply to you as to a son whom he infinitely loves and esteems. . . . It is always quite right to think Frenchmen invincible, but I am

going to confide a great secret to you, which is the result of forty years' experience, . . . there are none easier to beat than are Frenchmen when they have lost confidence in their leaders; and they lose it immediately when their leaders compromise themselves by personal or private ambition. If I have been happy enough to retain the confidence of my men, I owe it to the most scrupulous examination of my conscience. . . . Of nearly 15,000 men of different grades who have been killed or wounded under my orders, in the most murderous actions, I have not to reproach myself for the loss of one who was killed on my own account. . . . Be persuaded of my most tender friendship, though I have thought fit to comment upon some things that displeased me in your last despatch, the warmth of your heart and soul having a little heated your discretion. Preserve your discretion in council, and reserve all your zeal for the moment of action. It is always old father Rochambeau who speaks to his dear son Lafayette, whom he loves, and will love and esteem until his last sigh.

“LE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.”*

The writer of the above letter soon gained the affection and respect of all orders and degrees of men in America. Deputations waited on him from the American Indians, the chiefs of whom did homage to the French General. Old age, women, and children felt safe where Rochambeau was; and he was complimented by the Quakers of America, not as a soldier, but for his love of order,

* Correspondance, 1780, tome i., p. 256. Bruxelles, 1837.

and his ability to govern soldiers, and to restrain their bad passions.

The Abbé Robin, who afterwards wrote an account of North America for the Queen and the Countess d'Artois, went out with Rochambeau and his troops. It may be curious to compare Boston and Bostonians, as seen by Frenchmen in 1780, with Boston and Bostonians of the nineteenth century. This is what the Abbé Robin says :

“At last, after uncertainty, peril, and sickness, a good fresh breeze carries us into the road of Boston ! From that road, studded with pleasant little isles, we perceive, through trees, upon the western coast, a magnificent amphitheatre of houses . . . This fine amphitheatre curves over more than half a league. That is Boston ! Those edifices, so elevated and regular, appear to us less like a modern colony than an antique city. The interior of Boston harmonizes with its first view from on board ship. Workshops and warehouses are erected all along a superb *jetée*, which stands out nearly two thousand feet in the sea . . . The form of the houses is strange to European eyes ; they are built entirely of wood, not in the heavy and dreary fashion of our old cities, but with

regularity and airy lightness. Their timber-work is well knit together, with an outer covering of fine and polished boards, placed accurately one above another like roof-tiles; these boards are painted grey, which adds infinitely to the harmony of the whole appearance; the roofs are ornamented by balustrades . . . the foundations are supported upon a wall about a foot high. One feels how much more healthy these houses must be than ours are in France! . . . These houses are moveable; their weight is inconsiderable in proportion to their mass . . . I have seen a house two stories high, which had been transported a quarter of a league from its original site (all the French army witnessed the same thing done at Newport). The habitations of strolling Scythians were less wonderful than are these . . . Their furniture is simple, but of costly wood; the floors are covered with woollen carpets or mats, though some are strewed with fine sand . . . There are about 6,000 houses, and 30,000 inhabitants . . . There are nineteen temples of worship for all sorts of sects. These temples are very clean, and some of them are very fine, especially those of the Anglicans and Presbyterians . . . The poor as well as the rich hear

the word of God in a convenient and decent posture. Sunday is observed here with the greatest rigour. All business, be its importance what it may, ceases on that day. Even the most innocent pleasures are not permitted in Boston on a Sunday. In this populous city there is great motion and activity during the week ; but on Sunday one traverses the streets without seeing anybody ; and if, by chance, one man meets another, he dare scarcely stop to speak to him. A Frenchman who lodged with me in Boston took it into his head to play the flute one Sunday ; the other people in the house, who heard him, were so indignant that they would have proceeded to violence had not the landlord interfered. One cannot go into a house on Sunday without finding everybody there occupied in reading the Bible ; it is a touching sight to see a father in the midst of his family explaining the sublime truths of the Sacred Book to his children. Everybody goes to the temple of his sect. In those temples reign silence, order, and reverence to a degree not found in these later days in our Catholic churches. In these sectarian temples the chanting of the Psalms is slow and majestic. Poetry, in the national tongue, augments the interest of these

*Psalms.** All these temples are entirely without ornament. Nothing in them appeals to the imagination nor to the heart. Neither painting nor sculpture recalls his duties to the American worshipper, by displaying to him those great events which stimulate gratitude; nor are pious heroes and martyrs thus recalled to him—those whom he ought to admire and seek to imitate. The greatness of the Being he adores is not depicted to the American worshipper in pomps and ceremonies . . . No ecclesiastical processions indicate to him the homage due to the Being by whom nature is renovated, by whom the fields are covered with harvests, and the trees are laden with fruit. Quakers are still greater enemies of external worship. In their silent assemblies the motive which has drawn so many people together is not perceptible until the Holy Spirit suddenly ‘moving’ one of the members, he becomes warm, agitated, the Pontiff of the moment . . . In this spiritual movement there is no exception of age, condition, or sex . . . But enthusiasm, the mainstay of sects, languishes amongst the Quakers of America.

* It is to be lamented that the Reverend Abbé gives us no clue to the version of the psalms used by the Bostonians in 1780.

“There is an eminence which rises high above the city of Boston. Upon it Bostonians have placed a sort of lighthouse, which is raised very high, and surmounted by a barrel of tar, to be lighted in case of attack. At this signal more than 40,000 men are prepared to take up arms, and will be at the gates of the city in less than twenty-four hours. From this point, also, the ruins of Charlestown are seen. Charlestown was burnt by the English the 17th of June, 1775, at the battle of Bunker’s Hill. Sad sight! Its ruins appeal to the sentiment of liberty in the souls of Bostonians.”*

The young Vicomte de Noailles, the scion of the most exclusive and haughty family of the old *régime* in France, embarked with Rochambeau and his army for America, there to fight for the infant Republic and for liberty. Thus, de Ségur, who had originally formed a secret triumvirate with Lafayette and de Noailles, in favour of the American cause, was left alone at Versailles to deplore more than ever the fate which bound him to the Old World.

* Récit. de l’Abbé Robin. (Imprimé pour S. M. la Reine et pour Madame la Comtesse d’Artois). 1783.

"I was in despair," says he. But a sudden change in the ministry of Versailles gave hope to him of soon being emancipated from the shackles of feudal France and Court custom. New Ministers of War and of Marine were to be appointed in the place of the Prince de Montbarrey (who had succeeded St. Germain) and of M. de Sartines (who had been concerned in the scheme for building French ships with British timber). Montbarrey and de Sartines had both owed their appointments to de Maurepas. So likewise did Necker, the Finance Comptroller ; but Necker, now finding the Marine department burthened by a debt of twenty millions,* remonstrated with the King on the continuance of de Sartines' appointment, and the King decided on demanding the resignation of the latter. The Queen, at the request of Madame de Polignac, nominated de Castries as new Minister of Marine, and the Marquis de Ségur (the would-be American hero's father) Minister of War. The Queen's conduct at this juncture is significant of the influence she had acquired over the mind of the King (even in defiance of his favourite minister, de Maurepas).

* *Mems. de Ségur*, tome i., p. 210.

when compared with the timidity of her policy only two years previously, before the birth of her child. The Queen, who now (in 1780–81) nominated Cabinet Ministers, was, in May, 1778, only anxious to conciliate Ministers' wives. The Paris newspapers of that time announce the Queen's reception at supper of Madame la Comtesse de Maurepas, Madame de Sartine, and Madame Amelot, at Marly; whereupon the gossip Bachaumont declares, that at this unusual departure from royal etiquette (which forbade ministers' wives to eat at the royal table), "Madame de Maurepas was so enchanted, that not daring to refuse anything that her Majesty offered to her, she forced herself to eat everything, and consequently had a violent indigestion. The excessive vanity of this lady is well known, as is likewise the Queen's aversion for her and for her husband; one can therefore only regard this favour as a trait of policy on the part of the Queen, which policy was prompted by a wish to please the King, who is known to have much friendship for the Comtesse de Maurepas."*

The Count de Maurepas was exasperated by the

* Mems. de Bachaumont, tome ii., p. 277.

Queen's assumption in helping to displace the War and Marine Ministers whom he had nominated. Necker, who also owed his elevation to de Maurepas, was acting in conjunction with the Queen, which increased the Prime Minister's irritation against her Majesty.

The party of de Maurepas—including the King's aunts—was sufficiently powerful to retaliate injuriously upon the Queen for her sudden usurpation of authority over the King's council, and upon Necker for his financial representations to his Majesty concerning the departmental mismanagement of the ministers whom he (de Maurepas) had placed in office. The press was imbued with subtle suspicions of Necker; and by it the Queen's friendship for the Duchesse de Polignac was grossly misrepresented, in a way to influence the people's minds against both her Majesty and her favourite. In a former chapter of this narrative the Princesse de Lamballe has generously done justice to the Duchesse de Polignac, her rival in the Queen's favour. The young Count de Ségur also affirms: "Madame de Polignac was without ambition for her family, without avarice for herself; she was sought by honours from which she had

fled. A sincere friend, it was Marie Antoinette whom she loved, and not the Queen ; and her only aim in all the counsels she gave to her Majesty was, to secure welfare and glory."

This declaration of de Ségur, however, in favour of the Duchesse de Polignac, must be received with more reserve than that of the Princesse de Lamballe—considering that de Ségur's own father was the gainer by Madame de Polignac's counsels. Not but that the Marquis de Ségur was in all respects worthy of the Queen's nomination in the place of the Prince de Montbarrey, who was notoriously too weak in character for the office of War Minister in war time. The Marquis de Ségur had been the elder companion in arms of Rochambeau during the Seven Years' War. He bore on his body the marks of his devotion to his king and to his country ; he had long been infirm from the wounds he had received from the English in the last war, but his head was still clear to direct and to advise, and his honour and honesty were unimpeachable. But the old Marquis de Ségur was a courtier of the old school of France, whilst his son was only eager to become a Republican of the new school of America. Like Lord

Chatham, the Marquis de Ségur was a martyr to gout ; but his sense of duty to the Queen for her recommendation of him to the King, caused him to appear at Versailles in order to thank her Majesty before he was in a condition to present himself suitably there, he not having recovered from an attack of his malady. De Maurepas, whose policy it was to laugh at everything, turned the sufferings and appearance of the gallant old marquis into ridicule. A gouty War Minister ! In every age and class the French can bear anything better than ridicule. We have seen how the Chevalier d'Éon had dreaded being a common laughing-stock, "a popular punchinello," as the worst part of his punishment, which he describes as the most horrible that could be inflicted on man. Even the King, who had, at the instigation of the Queen, found courage for once to defy de Maurepas, was not proof against de Maurepas' sarcasm, as to the result of that defiance. The King remonstrated with the Queen upon the unpleasant position in which she had placed him. The Queen retorted upon her friend and favourite, Madame de Polignac. Madame de Polignac was deeply wounded by her Majesty's reproaches, and offered to resign her

new post of governess to the infant princess. The Queen, whose happiness seemed bound up in her friendship for Madame de Polignac, was agonised by such a suggestion, and a reconciliation quickly took place between them, when they combined against de Maurepas, who (the Prince de Montbarrey having resigned) had, as a last effort in opposition to the Queen's cabinet influence, dared to propose another War Minister in place of the one she had designated. Stimulated by indignation against de Maurepas, and sustained in her energy by Madame de Polignac, Marie Antoinette entered the King's cabinet, and, in presence of de Maurepas, complained to his Majesty of the conduct of his favourite Minister in having presumed to represent the Marquis de Ségur as permanently infirm, and incapable of bearing the burthen of ministerial duty. Gaining courage by this exercise of her authority by the remembrance of the wrongs inflicted on her in former years by the party of which the King's aunts were the head, and de Maurepas the tool, and by the certainty that she was advocating the cause of a good man and a brave soldier, the Queen solemnly demanded of de Maurepas whether he really had any tangible or just motive

in advising the King to reject her nomination.

For once de Maurepas did not laugh. He knew not what to reply; and at last, when his answer was stammered forth, it was altogether in praise of the Marquis de Ségur, whose appointment was thereupon instantly confirmed.

Necker, de Castries,* de Vergennes, and de Ségur formed a stronger government than France could boast of for some years past. The combination was favourable to the hopes of France in finance, in marine, in foreign affairs, and in the conduct of the war. It was a combination which made de Maurepas laugh less than he had ever done before, except when he was exiled for rhyming against the late King and Madame de Pompadour. De Maurepas was still nominally head of the Cabinet, but he was no longer omnipotent

* It is remarkable that, in the Cabinet of France, the ministerial government of the navy was seldom or ever confided to one who had gained experience in that service. M. de Castries, the new *Ministre de la Marine sans avoir été Marin*, was a Marshal of France, who had fought bravely on land, and a man of undoubted probity. He was born in 1727, and died in 1801. He emigrated at the beginning of the Revolution, and took service under the Duke of Brunswick, whom he had formerly conquered at Clostercamp.

there. More than once at this time de Maurepas did not succeed in making fresh mischief, and his health began to fail.

Young de Ségur at last embarked for America, but not before Marie Antoinette had again proved herself more perfect woman than Queen, by complaining to him that his father, who owed his appointment to her, was too strict in the discipline of his office; that he restrained even her from conferring military favours upon others. She complained that this inflexible minister, who did her recommendation much honour by his conduct, opposed "a bar of iron" to her will, and that he was thereby sometimes wanting in loyalty and gratitude to her. The great delight of Marie Antoinette was in giving pleasure to others. She could not endure to be restricted in this indulgence. Her "beneficence," of which the Princesse de Lamballe has rapturously spoken, was a "*bonté trop incorrigible*" for a Queen. Of the Queen's indiscreet liberality James Necker, the Director-General of Finance, had also to complain, although at times her Majesty could ill endure the interference of the Genevese Protestant.

Necker had by simple means developed immense

resources for the Government, so that the expenses of the war might be maintained without augmenting the taxes; or, rather, whilst lightening them. He had filled the treasury by offering annuities, terminating with the lives of the lenders, in exchange for advances of capital; while he proposed to provide in part for the additional outgoings by means of reforms and of economies in the luxurious expenditure of the Court. Necker knew more of business than he did of men. In attacking old feudal abuses he made hosts of enemies. Powerful personages held sinecures and had privileges which depended on the continuance of these abuses. Necker felt that before he could effect a thorough reform, he must be armed with full authority, and to achieve that end he desired to be made Minister. As Director-General of Finance, he had no absolute power of defending his project in the King's Council, and his religion had always rendered his position a peculiar one as regarded the King himself. Animated by a sincere desire for timely reform, Necker resolved to make all the people judges of his integrity, and to give them a chance of assisting in his plans. He therefore

caused the financial account which he had rendered to the King to be printed and published.* This was an unprecedented innovation in France. Until now the nation, a stranger to its own affairs, had remained in the most absolute ignorance as to its receipts, its debts, and its expenditure; as to the extent of its wants or of its resources. It was for all Frenchmen, even for those of the most enlightened classes, the real *arcanum imperii*.

Necker's statement of accounts gave an opportunity for a public discussion of the acts of Go-

* Necker's financial account was divided into three parts :—

1. The actual state of the finances, and of all operations relating to the royal treasury, and to public credit.

2. Financial operations by which measures of economy have been united with advantages to government.

3. Present and late financial dispositions and regulations, which have for their object the general welfare of the people, and the prosperity of the State!

Necker closed his statement to the King by declaring :—" My whole time has been devoted, without intermission, to the exercise of the important functions which your Majesty has entrusted to my charge. Neither to fame nor to power have I sacrificed my honesty. I have disdained the trappings of vanity. If any person owe to my favour either a place, a pension, or an employment, let him be named. My only object has been my duty; my only hope that of meriting the approbation of my royal master. Not one of his Majesty's born subjects excels me in my zeal and devotion for his service. Wicked men have sought to rob me of the approbation of the people. But, in spite of wickedness, truth and justice will prevail."

vernment. As soon as the people had satisfied their curiosity as to those great financial mysteries which hitherto had always been veiled from their eyes, they openly discussed, praised, blamed, and judged.

De Ségur (the younger) who declares this result to have ensued from Necker's bold publication, speaks in the highest terms of the probity of the Director-General of Finance, and of his character in private life. "In Necker's house," says de Ségur, "one breathed an atmosphere of simplicity and of virtue, which was quite strange in the midst of a brilliant Court and of a corrupt Capital."*

Necker's enemies now turned round upon him, and accused him of personal ambition in his desire to hold the rudder of Government in his own hands. Necker had many enemies; courtiers whom he desired to deprive of their sinecures; the friends of Turgot, whom he had succeeded; de Maurepas, his first patron at court, who was jealous of him, as a master might be when outstripped by his pupil; some of the people who, ignorantly believing in impossibilities, thought he might have done better; and, above all, the

* *Mémoires de Ségur*, tome i., pp. 96, 220.

Church, which had been long scandalized at beholding a Protestant holding a high and important office in the Government of France.

The Count d'Artois lent his sanction to a pamphlet which was published against Necker. This was unfortunate for the Queen, because it was well known that, since the earliest years of her marriage, the Count d'Artois, her brother-in-law, had been on friendly and confidential terms with her Majesty. Those of the people, therefore, who were well inclined towards Necker, and regarded him as a great reformer, who had sprung from their own class, naturally inferred that the pamphlet, sanctioned by the Count d'Artois, was published by the Queen's authority, as a retort upon Necker for having endeavoured to curb Court expenditure. This pamphlet was issued at the Temple (afterwards to become gloomily famous in the annals of the Revolution); and it is announced in the *Journal d'un Observateur*, of May 2, 1780, that the Count d'Artois there one day personally distributed copies of it. Upon the 3rd of May another pamphlet appeared, in which Necker's financial account is unjustly and virulently declared to be but a copy of the "*Testament Politique*,"

left by Silhouette, the Finance Comptroller of France, during the worst part of the Seven Years' War; who, for the misfortunes which occurred during his administration, was laden with reproaches, and whose memory had ever since been execrated by the people.*

Necker had hoped to establish a new system of credit throughout France, which could only be done by inspiring confidence. He had, therefore, conceived the project of forming provincial administrations throughout the kingdom; thereby initiating all owners of property into the mysteries of public finance, and giving them an intelligent interest in upholding government measures. He desired to educate and to emancipate the nation by salutary measures, and by judicious reforms, which would have been equally beneficial to the King and to his people; and which, by teaching them to know each other, would have given to the King a constitutional authority, and to the people true liberty.

By a strange perversion, Necker's projected system of credit was now declared, in a "*Tableau*

* Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV., vol. ii., p. 267.

Comparatif," * to be analogous to the scheme of John Law, the notorious Mississippi speculator, who, in 1720, had drained France of money by his scrip, and who, when the bubble burst, and France found herself bankrupt, fled to other lands, enriched—the French people erroneously, but commonly, believed—with his spoils.†

Upon the 9th of May, Turgot published, or permitted the publication, in his name, of a letter to Necker, in which he reproached him for having at first affected to combat his (Turgot's) plans, that he might bring himself into notoriety by his opposition ; and, having succeeded in so doing, for now adopting his (Turgot's) theories, and for endeavouring to put them into practice as his own.

It is said that Necker, to stop the circulation of this letter, bought up the whole edition; afterwards MS. copies of it were sold in the streets of Paris, where scribes were hired by some anonymous agency to work faster than printers.

Upon the 22nd of June, 1780, criticisms ap-

* "Tableau Comparatif de ce qui s'est passé en 1716-17-18-19-20, et de ce qui s'est passé en 1776-77-78-79-80." Paris, 1780.

† Count de Maurepas was already Secretary of State in the time of John Law. Maurepas was then eighteen years old; he was now eighty-one.

pear of the pamphlet against Necker ; which criticisms extended its circulation, and precipitated his overthrow. He is blamed for having mooted the destruction of the Receivers-General of Finance, and for "the general *discredit* with which France is threatened." . . . "The conclusion is, that one sees in M. Necker, as a *Banker*, but transfers of debt, and very onerous borrowings, such as are almost always adopted by foreign bankers. As a *Man of Finance*, but the most greedy Necromancer. . . . As a Director, but the most absolute nothingness."

Thus insulted without by popular pamphlets, and harassed by the intrigues of de Maurepas within the Cabinet, Necker determined to resign. The King was again tormented at this crisis by conflicting opinion. Notwithstanding the difference of faith between them, the King had learned to respect and to rejoice in the integrity of Necker, as he had a few years before in that of Turgot. But the King's reverence for the Church was greater than his respect for Necker ; and his Majesty had long been in need of some relief to his conscience for having permitted the Finance of France to be under the direction of a Protestant.

It was now the time for Louis XVI. to choose between the directors of his conscience, or the Director of his Finance; and it need scarcely be said that he was overruled by the former.

The Queen, also, had learned to respect Necker, notwithstanding her occasional impatience at the financial reforms he presumed to suggest in her household. The Queen tried to dissuade Necker from resigning his office. In this dissuasion her Majesty was doubtless actuated by her dislike to de Maurepas, who was doing all he could to compel Necker's resignation. The Queen entreated Necker to remain patiently in office until "the death of an old man, whom the King only kept near him out of respect for his first ministerial choice, * and out of regard for his great age. She even went so far as to remind Necker that Maurepas was always ill, and that his end could not be far distant." † But even Queen Marie Antoinette's powers of persuasion failed in inducing the Genevese Protestant to remain in office, now that the King seemed to have lost confidence in him. He resigned. But Necker did not wish that the

* See chapter iii., vol. i., of this narrative.

† *Méms. Campan*, tome i., chap. x., p. 193.

people should suppose that in resigning he was disgraced ; and therefore he wrote to the King, requesting some favour of his Majesty which would prove that he had done nothing to forfeit royal confidence or popular respect. He terminated this letter by designating five different things—such a mark of honour, *or* such a decoration, &c. This letter, according to cabinet etiquette, had to pass through the hands of de Maurepas on its way to the King. In the course of this transit, the *ors* were changed into *ands*,* so that it seemed as though Necker, true to the character given of him in the above-named Paris pamphlet, was indeed a “*greedy Necromancer*,” who desired to convert his resignation, as Director of Finance, into the receipt of five offices and emoluments, which would have rendered such resignation profitable to him. The King was then seriously displeased with Necker, believing him to have been actuated by motives of personal ambition, and to have abused shamefully the favour with which he had been regarded. He, therefore, met his proposals by not only exiling him from Court, but even by forbidding him to approach the Capital within forty leagues. The

* Ibid, 195.

Orléans party affected to sympathise with Necker under this disgrace, and represented the King's *lettre de cachet* against him as an act of arbitrary injustice. The people of Paris now regarded Necker as a martyr to royal tyranny; their complaints against him were now changed into murmurs against the King, and against the Queen. The Count d'Artois, who had personally distributed the pamphlets against Necker at the Temple, was now unpopular, and the Duc d'Orléans and his party were in the ascendant.

Madame de Genlis, the mouth-piece of the Palais Royal against Versailles, declares:—"I had never asked a single favour of M. Necker, but I was passionately in love with his 'Account Rendered;' and when M. Necker was exiled, M. de Sillery authorised me to offer the estate of Sillery to him for one year. He did not accept that offer, because he had obtained permission to settle himself at St. Ouen. . . ."

The society of his wife and daughter soothed Necker in his exile. Of Madame Necker, Gibbon's first love, Madame de Genlis says:—"She was a virtuous, calm, dry, and formal person, without imagination; she had acquired, by her ac-

quaintance with M. Thomas, an emphatic language, which contrasted singularly with the coldness of her sentiments and manners. She was studied in everything: she had rules even for the manner in which one ought to chat *tête-à-tête* with one's friend. But, with these preparations, she was always equal, obliging, and even-tempered; only calculating on the self-love of others, she was constantly flattering to excess."

Madame de Genlis (famous for representing her friends as foils to herself) was only too willing, it seems, to be flattered by Madame Necker; for in another place she confesses to having read one of her own works to that lady, in presence of Mademoiselle Necker (the future Madame de Staël), upon which occasion Mademoiselle's conduct must have outraged her mother's sense of decorum, "for," says Madame de Genlis, with characteristic egotism—

"I cannot express the demonstrations and enthusiasm of that young person during my reading; she wept; she made exclamations at each page; she kissed my hands every minute; she much embarrassed me; I was far," continues Madame de Genlis, "from foreseeing that that same young

person would one day become my enemy. Madame Necker had brought her up very badly, in allowing her to pass three parts of the day in her salon, with the crowd of wits, who all surrounded Mademoiselle Necker; and, whilst her mother occupied herself with other persons—and especially with the women who came to see her—the wits discussed love and the passions with Mademoiselle Necker. The solitude of her own chamber, and good books, would have been much better for her.”*

(Elsewhere, Madame de Genlis sighs over Madame de Staël, and exclaims, “Ah! If *I* had had the bringing up of her!”)

Necker in his exile was solaced and cheered by his sedate wife and enthusiastic daughter. The dawning genius of the latter inspired him with other subjects of consideration than that of courtly caprice or popular fickleness. Of him Madame de Genlis says: “M. Necker, who was so pompous and surly in his writings, was much more ingenuous and agreeable in conversation. He owed to his short, thick-set, and common figure, an air of good-nature, which, with his sprightly and, in general, rather caustic conversation, made him something of an original.”

* *Mems. de Genlis*, tome iii., pp. 258, 259, 261.

Such is the homely picture of a man whose measures had caused such clamour, whose elevation is an epoch in the history of France, and at whose downfall the Church now rejoiced. The Protestant disgraced, an exile from Court, and forbidden by royal decree to approach within forty leagues of the Capital, the Church strove to rekindle the ancient faith of the people in herself. The heads of the clergy had assembled just as the people were excited against Necker by pasquinades and pamphlets. A grand mass was performed, and the Bishop of Blois preached upon the "Perpetuity of the Faith." In his sermon the Bishop declaimed against modern preachers who "for some time since have proclaimed opinions contrary to the faith" (who had let in the light of reason?) "The Prelate," it is announced by the press, "has re-animated the hopes of the Church in those consoling words—'The gates of hell shall not prevail against her.'"

The people were forewarned that that year the procession of St. Lawrence (in the Faubourg Saint Laurent) would be more than usually attractive. "An altar made of flowers is carried in this procession. This year, the Sieur l'Argillière, sculp-

tor, has contrived, by the aid of Mannequins, to give full flight to his imagination. He has represented Moses and Aaron striking the rock. A great quantity of water is so disposed that it can flow instantly, and that this factitious miracle shall last some hours. One can well conceive what an extraordinary crowd this will attract.”*

There was even some hope, just now, amongst devotees that the Jesuits would be recalled. The new Pope (Pius VI.) was doing all he could to controvert the measures of his predecessor, Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) who, on the 21st July, 1773, had signed the Bull for the general suppression of the Jesuits.† Ganganelli had been lenient even towards Protestants and Jews, although he had signed this Bull. In a letter written by him to a Protestant minister, he says :

“I would with all my soul that I could convince you that I love all mankind, and that I respect merit, impartially, wherever I find it. . . The Roman Church, my dear sir, knows so perfectly well the merit of most ministers of Protestant

* Journal d'un Observateur.

† Bref pour la suppression des Jésuites.—Extracts translated into English, in *Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV*, vol. ii., p. 291.

communions, that she would for ever congratulate herself in receiving them into her bosom. . . . Nobody groans more than I do at the evil which has been done to you during this last century; the spirit of persecution is odious to me. . . . The Jews themselves will enter hereafter into the bosom of the true Church; and it is in this firm hope, founded upon Holy Writ, that they are tolerated in the heart of Rome, and allowed the full exercise of their religion.”*

Even Presbyterian preachers in Scotland acknowledged the enlightened beneficence of Pope Clement XIV. One of them was seized with a desire of converting his Holiness. For this purpose he journeyed from Scotland to Rome, and a few days after his arrival there he entered St. Peter's Church, where the Pope was performing some religious ceremony. The sight of this ceremony inflamed the missionary's passion for the work he had set himself to do, and he burst out with zealous indignation: “O thou beast of nature, with seven heads and ten horns! . . . Throw away the golden cup of abominations!” &c. A great hubbub ensued,

* *Lettres du Pape Clément XIV. Tome ii., p. 60. Amsterdam, 1776.*

and horror at this awful apostrophe in such a place; the Scotch zealot was carried off by the Swiss halberdiers from St. Peter's to prison. When it was known that he was a British subject, he was treated gently, and in due time examined as to his motives for such profane conduct. He answered only in the language of Revelation, which he applied to the Church and Pope of Rome; and declared that he had come from the North to Rome, "to anoint the eyes of the scarlet lady with eye-salve, that she might see her wickedness." His judges, who had been accustomed to a different interpretation of these passages which had taken such fast hold on this Scotch fanatic's imagination, asked him whom he meant by this scarlet lady? He answered these inquiries in such awful language as to leave no doubt on their minds of his meaning or of his blasphemy; and they were for condemning him to the galleys, that he might there be taught more sense, and learn better manners! But when this was proposed to Pope Clement XIV. he only answered with great good-humour, "that he had never heard of any body whose understanding or politeness had been improved at that school; and that for his own part he considered himself

obliged to the Scotchman for his good intentions, although certainly he must acknowledge that the poor man's first address had been a little rough and abrupt." The Pope afterwards ordered that the man should be treated with gentleness while he remained in confinement, and that he should be put on board the first ship bound from Civita Vecchia to England. The Pope paid for the fanatic's passage home.*

Pope Clement XIV. was called by the Jesuits "the Protestant Pope." Discipline in the Church had much relaxed during his Pontificate, and the temporal welfare of his subjects in Italy had much improved. The present Pope (Pius VI.) was a man of a very different character to that of his predecessor. He laid great stress on the ceremonial part of religion, and revived, by precept and practice, customs which were falling into disuse.

An English eye-witness thus describes Pope Pius VI. before the statue of St. Peter. "He was not satisfied with bowing, which is the usual mark of respect shown to that image; or with kneeling, which is performed by more zealous persons; or with kissing the foot, which I formerly imagined

* *Political Magazine.* London, 1781.

formed the climax of devotion ; he bowed, he knelt, he kissed the foot, and then he rubbed his brow and his whole head, with every mark of humility, fervour, and adoration, on the sacred stump. (It is no more, one half of the foot having long since been worn away by the lips of the pious ; and if the example of his Holiness is universally imitated, nothing but a miracle can prevent the leg, thigh, and other parts from meeting with the same fate). This uncommon appearance of zeal in the Pope is not imputed to hypocrisy or to policy, but is supposed to proceed entirely from a conviction of the efficacy of those holy frictions ; an opinion which has given people a much higher idea of his faith than of his understanding.”*

Pope Pius VI. impressed all beholders with the grace and majesty of his personal appearance ; and this is no light advantage amongst a people so susceptible as the Italians. He was about sixty years of age when he was elected to the pontificate, but he looked much younger. The Italian women, when they beheld him in public, exclaimed :—“*O ! quanto è bello ! quanto è bello !*” to which an aged devotee once replied :—“*Tanto è bello, quanto è santo.*” (He is as beautiful as he is holy).

* Ibid.

It was no wonder that those who travelled from France to Italy came back more pious than they went; for even the Protestant Englishman before quoted, when he beheld Pius VI. giving the Benediction to the people from the balcony of St. Peter's, confesses :—" Had I not in my early youth received impressions highly unfavourable to the chief actor in this magnificent interlude, I should have been in danger of doing homage to him."

But efforts at this time in France to revive enthusiasm for the pope were generally failures. News from North America was more welcome to France, in 1781, than was intelligence from Rome. Even Paris workmen in the Faubourg St. Laurent, through which the grand procession had lately passed, boldly discussed not only American independence and Necker's "Account Rendered," but also the Bible. As to pious traditions, Voltaire had taught even these men to rail at them. Voltaire's pamphlets were reproduced, by stealth, in various forms. Voltaire's thoughts, contracting impurity in the downward channels through which they flowed, were now in some sort the thoughts of the labouring classes. And yet Voltaire himself, in his later years, had confessed to a fear of a

people who had not the fear of God. From Ferney, Voltaire had written to the Marquis d'Argens at Berlin :

“ My dear Marquis, if you, crowned with flowers, a goblet of *Aï* in your hand, and seated at the feet of your mistress, tell me that you believe not in God, what care I? But if you, a poor, hungry man, with a loaded gun in your hand, met me at night in a wood, and then told me that you believed not in God, I should not know how to find legs fast enough to carry me away from you.”

But Voltaire proved the truth of an old French proverb—“ He who plays with fire becomes an incendiary.”

A few years before Voltaire's death, a caricature had appeared in Paris which represented Voltaire and Rousseau about to fight each other. Voltaire has his sword drawn, but Rousseau has doubled his fists.

“ M. Rousseau,” says Voltaire, “ why don't you use the arms of a gentleman ?”

“ Because,” says Rousseau, “ I prefer to use the arms of nature.”

It is curious to observe that Rousseau and Voltaire had now changed places as leaders of opinion

in France; each, by a strange perversion, occupying the one originally assigned to the other by birth, by education, and by social position. During the American war, Rousseau's—the Genevese republican's—works were more read by the upper classes; and Voltaire's—the courtier's—opinions gained ground amongst the lower classes. Voltaire has therefore been called “The great Demolisher.” “At Court,” says the young Count de Ségur, “we applauded the republican maxims of Brutus—in short, we talked of independence in camps, of democracy at the houses of nobles, of philosophy at balls, and of morality in boudoirs.” The people had lost their faith in the priesthood. The people had learned to doubt and to dispute. “Philosophy” had robbed the people of the consolations of religion, and had given to them, instead of the holy mysteries of the ancient faith of France, Voltaire's Essays; Diderot's “Code of Nature;” and Rousseau's “Social Contract.”

“Religion,” as says a French author, “had taught the people to look beyond the tomb for ‘The Rights of Man,’ and for Equality. Divine hope in a future existence had been a compensa-

tion to the workman and to the mechanic for all the daily miseries of a life of toil; and when this hope was no longer theirs, they looked in this world for another equality. Fatal impieties which only excite a smile in enervated gentlemen, cause the people to grind their teeth with rage."

The people of France, at this period of the American rebellion, began to talk every day more loudly of "Liberty and of Equality," and to demand a better place for themselves under the sun which shines equally on all men. Women of the lower classes now began to join in this demand for equality. Unlike the women of Italy, the women of France said not of the Pope: "*Quanto e bello!*" The voice from the convent was hushed in proportion as the voice from the fish-market grew vociferous. The sight of nuns became rare. It is well known that when Queen Marie Antoinette was about to take her little daughter to the convent of St. Denis, there to visit nun Louise (whom Pope Clement XIV. had blest), her Majesty had a doll dressed as a Carmelite, that the child might be accustomed beforehand to the garb in which her aunt would receive her.

CHAPTER V.

Landing of the French at Jersey—Belleisle's Bureau—M. le Baron de Rullecourt and the Lieut. Governor of Jersey—Elizabeth Castle—French troops attacked—Death of De Rullecourt—Gibraltar—France in India—Hyder Ali—Fears of the Dutch—Joli de Fleuri—Calonne—Antecedents of Calonne—The Abbé de Vermond—Death of the Queen Empress, Maria Theresa—The King in the Queen's Cabinet—Marie Antoinette's reverence for her mother—Count de Kaunitz—Original Contemporary sketch of a Viennese Diplomatist of the eighteenth century—Portrait of Maria Theresa—Character of Maria Theresa—M. le Duc de Lauzun—York-town—Lord Cornwallis circumvented—Secret letter from Paris to America intercepted by the English—The siege of York-town described by one who was present—The day of capitulation—Lord Cornwallis and President Laurens—Lord North's despair—Marie Antoinette's joy.

IN 1778 the Duc de Lauzun had reported to the Cabinet of Versailles that, with three thousand men and great secrecy, an expedition against the islands

of Jersey and Guernsey would be successful. By advice of Marshal Broglie the scheme was postponed, but on the night of the 6th of January, 1781, 1200 French soldiers, of the legion of Luxembourg, commanded by the Baron de Rullecourt, traversed, in flat-bottomed boats, the space which separates Jersey from the Continent. (This plan was suggested to the Cabinet of France more than twenty years before, by the late Marshal Belleisle, and was one of the "projects deferred" in "Belleisle's Bureau.")*

One thousand only of these French soldiers effected a landing. A privateer and four transports were wrecked on the rocks, and two hundred men perished. De Rullecourt and his remaining followers obtained a safe footing in the island before the enemy suspected their vicinity. To the astonishment of the little town of St. Heliers, the capital of Jersey, the French commander and his troops appeared in the market-place, where they drew up in military array, before anybody knew by what means they had arrived in the island. From the market-place de Rullecourt sent a de-

* Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV., vol. ii., p. 32; vol. ii., p. 257.

tachment of his troops to the house of the Lieutenant-Governor of the island (Major Corbett), who was secured, but not before he had found means to convey information of the landing of the French to three regiments, which were stationed in different parts of the island. De Rullecourt, not knowing that Major Corbett had done so, now proposed to him to sign articles of capitulation. He threatened, in case of Corbett's refusal, to burn the town, and to put the inhabitants to the sword; further, to vanquish resistance, de Rullecourt falsely declared that he had landed 5,000 men on the island, and that all idea of its defence was therefore vain. Major Corbett, believing de Rullecourt's statement, and anxious to save the island from fire, massacre, and the worst horrors of war, was reluctantly compelled to comply, and the capitulation was signed.

All who have been to Jersey will remember Elizabeth Castle, built out in the sea, from which it rises like a dark frowning rock. This castle is approachable on foot, from the island, at low tide, but at high tide it is surrounded by the waves. Captain Aylward was then in command of Elizabeth Castle. When called upon to surrender

by the French troops, he peremptorily refused, and, firing down upon the French, compelled them to retire. Meanwhile, the British troops, under command of Major Pierson, with the island militia, contrived some secret means of communication with the commander of Elizabeth Castle, from the heights which skirt the island looking towards that fortress. When de Rullecourt sent a requisition to the troops and militia, that they should conform to the capitulation, the only answer he received was: "If the French do not lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, in twenty minutes they will be attacked."

De Rullecourt, thus repulsed at Elizabeth Castle, and threatened within the island, was obliged to defend himself, as he refused to yield. But the lieutenant-governor of the island still being de Rullecourt's prisoner, he compelled him to stand close to his side during the action, declaring that he should share his fate.

The British troops attacked the French with vigorous impetuosity. The action was brief and sanguinary. The brave Major Pierson was one of the first to fall. De Rullecourt was mortally wounded by a musket ball, which shattered his

jaw-bone. The tongue which uttered such furious threats a few hours before, was silent for ever. The remnant of the 1,000 Frenchmen surrendered when their leader fell, and France was bitterly disappointed when news reached her of the fate of this expedition against Jersey, which she had thought to take by a *coup de main*.

Towards the end of June, the fleet of France (eighteen ships of the line), under command of the Count de Guichen, sailed from Brest, and effected a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz. The united squadrons amounted to fifty ships of the line, and after detaching two large ships, with several frigates, to escort a considerable body of land forces to Minorca, they again entered the English Channel, when, by a remarkable coincidence, the elements once more warred in favour of the English. France complains that Spain, about this time, uselessly consumed too many land and sea forces in the siege of Gibraltar. To regain possession of that impregnable fortress was Spain's first object, which object, France declares, would have been more probably attained by sustained and consistent attacks on the coasts of England, and by weakening the power of England on the seas.

In India, France rather hoped than expected to re-establish her ancient power and influence. At the beginning of the last reign India was regarded by France as the land of gold, of wonders, and of triumph. Names, dear to the memory of Frenchmen, were illustrious in the annals of Indian warfare ; Dupleix, de la Bourdonnaye and Bussy. Each of these, though subject in his turn to censure from the Government at home, was immortalized in the hearts and annals of France, for deeds which had given great power and glory to his country in India.

The *Mercure de France*, and other newspapers, contemporary with the period before the Seven Years' War, abound with paragraphs exalting these men, and with dazzling accounts of the land where they ruled. "Dupleix marched against the English at the head of 200,000 men, and of 8,000 elephants : in the midst of the latter his regal palanquin was carried, gleaming with silk and gold." The Seven Years' War had been fatal to the colonial and eastern possessions of France. She had long since ceased to look for glory from India ; and dared not, with the memory before her of the terrible reverses which she had suffered, expect

now to recover the Eastern Empire, which she had lost. But hope, at least, a Frenchman seldom loses; and that hope may well have been encouraged by events—as important as they were unexpected,—which threatened seriously the maintenance of his rival's dominion.

Suddenly, in that land of wonders, Hyder Ali, bursting through the unguarded passes of the coast of Coromandel, deluged the settlements of the English with his troops. Hyder Ali was originally a soldier of fortune, he was daring and ambitious, and was now regent of the kingdom of Mysore. He had established such a military force in India as had never been beheld there before. His cavalry, by their rapid evolutions, derided all pursuit. Hyder's horsemen were proverbially fatal to an enemy.

The English had now excited Hyder's enmity by the reduction of Mahé, a French settlement within his dominions. Before the government of Madras could be aware of the hostile intentions of this mighty Eastern chieftain, he had penetrated the Ghauts,* and spread his troops over the Carnatic.

* The Eastern Ghauts formed the boundary between Hyder

General Munro was compelled to retreat with his Anglo-Indian troops, before Hyder Ali's terrible cavalry; and England was in danger of losing Madras, until reinforcements arrived from Bengal under General Coote. On the first of July, 1781, Coote defeated Hyder Ali, although the cavalry of the latter was still spread over the Carnatic, and his name struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants.

The alliance of Holland with France and Spain had just been declared. Having cause to dread that the Dutch settlements would league with Hyder Ali, England instantly attacked those settlements.

Holland trembled for Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas. The arms of France were not therefore in the ascendant, when the old Marquis de Ségur was appointed War Minister, and when de Castries was appointed Minister of Marine, at Versailles.

The resignation of Necker made the aspect of French affairs more threatening at home and abroad.

Ali's dominions and the English territory. To the Eastern chieftain's familiarity with the passes in these mountains may be ascribed much of his success in war, as he was thereby enabled to take the enemy by surprise.

For a brief period the finance of France was committed to the direction of Joli de Fleuri, counsellor of State, who was succeeded in that office by Calonne.* Calonne was recommended to the King by M. de Vergennes, at the instigation of the Count d'Artois, and of the Duchesse de Polignac. The odium of Calonne's appointment fell, in time, upon the Queen, although the Princesse de Lamballe declares that her Majesty was averse to it. Marie Antoinette complained that, although happy in her friendship for the Duchesse de Polignac, she was the victim of her friend's friends.

Nevertheless, Calonne was obsequious to the Queen's will, which Necker had sometimes opposed.

* Charles Alexandre de Calonne (of noble family), born at Douay, 1734. Educated at the University of Paris as an advocate. Had successfully practised at the bar some time, and was made in quick succession Procurator-General to the Parliament of Flanders; Intendant of Metz; and in 1783 Comptroller of Finance in France. Continued in that office till 1787; but then incurring the resentment of the nobles, clergy, and magistracy, he was disgraced, and Necker was restored. During his retirement, he attacked Necker with his pen (as he was suspected of having done in 1781). In 1791 he attended the royal French princes to Coblenz, and proposed a plan of counter-revolution, which plan, however, was not approved by royalists. In 1802, he obtained leave to return to Paris under the consular government, and died there that same year.

When the Queen desired anything, Calonne would answer: "Madame, if the thing be possible, it is done; if impossible, it *shall* be done." But before Calonne's installation into office, the Queen's life was marked by events which must be noticed here in their order of succession. Births, deaths, and marriages are epochs in the life of every individual; but in the life of Marie Antoinette they were full of significance to the whole world.

Before the resignation of Necker, at the end of the year 1780, Maria Theresa, Queen-Empress of Austria, died. The death of her mother was a great grief to Marie Antoinette, Queen of France. For years past, this royal mother and daughter had not met; but when the news reached Versailles that Maria Theresa was dead, Louis XVI., knowing that the Queen retained a lively affection for her mother, had not courage himself to announce the event to her Majesty. The King deputed the Abbé de Vermond to break the intelligence to the Queen. This was a great concession on the part of the King towards de Vermond, which, perhaps, nothing but a wish to assuage the grief of his consort could have gained from him. Louis XVI. had never overcome the aversion for

the Abbé de Vermond, which had been instilled into him, in the earliest years of his marriage, by his tutor, the Duc de la Vauguyon, and by his aunts. The Duc de la Vauguyon was now dead,* but he had left some few indelible impressions on the mind of the King, his former pupil; of which abhorrence of the Abbé de Vermond, the Queen's former tutor, was one. But the Abbé had been originally placed in charge of Marie Antoinette by her mother. It was the Abbé who had helped to keep alive the Queen's love and reverence for her mother; by anecdotes in favour of that great Empress, and by openly expressed veneration for the mighty benefactress who had raised him from obscurity. Whatever, therefore, may have been the Abbé de Vermond's errors of judgment in the early education of Marie Antoinette, it was now with unfeigned grief and deep emotion that he entered the Queen's cabinet and informed her of the loss she had sustained.

* One of the Queen's ladies of the bed-chamber, who had originally been placed about her person by the King's aunts, ventured to extol to her the Duc de la Vauguyon's edifying piety in his last moments. Among other things this lady said, "And, your majesty, he even begged all his people to forgive him his offences towards them." "Which offences," said the Queen, "were places and sinecures."

The Queen was overwhelmed by sorrow when the news was gradually broken to her, that her mother was dead. She was alone when de Vermond entered; for it was still early in the morning, before the hour of her grand toilette; and when only the King and her child, with a few privileged favourites, usually gained access to her. The King had dictated the hour of the Abbé's mournful visit the night before, when he had received despatches from Vienna, so that the Queen's grief should have no unsympathizing witnesses, and that she should be the better prepared to endure it by a night's rest. In such forethought for others, the excellent nature of Louis XVI.—the man—is shown. Though he was somewhat heavy in manner, and methodical in his daily habits of life, he had long ago learned to appreciate the warm, impulsive nature of the Queen, and he tenderly guarded the heart which clung to him.

After the Abbé de Vermond had been closeted with the Queen about a quarter of an hour, the King himself ventured to enter; her Majesty's tears were flowing silently; but, though evidently in deep grief, she was more calm and composed than the King, who knew her disposition, had

dared to expect. The Abbé de Vermond had evidently fulfilled his mission with gentleness and discretion; and the King, grateful for this to the man he had hitherto distrusted, felt a pang of compunction, which made his Majesty unusually courteous. The King made way for the Abbé, who was about leaving the cabinet, and said to him on the threshold: "I thank you, Monsieur l'Abbé, for the service that you have just rendered to me." And this was the first time the King, since his accession to the throne, had spoken to the Abbé de Vermond. The Abbé bowed; the King, his enemy, had consoled him for the loss of the Queen-Empress, his friend.

When the Queen went forth from her Cabinet that same day, she wore mourning; not allowing an hour to pass, unnecessarily, before she exhibited to the court of France tokens of her grief and respect for her mother, who, though unpopular at Versailles, had been adored at Vienna.

Maria Theresa was not only unpopular at the Court, but in the capital of France. Institutions and customs which were fast being swept away in France, were rigidly upheld and maintained by the late Queen-Empress of Austria; and, not-

withstanding the assurance given to us by the Abbé Millot, in a previous chapter of this narrative, of the integrity of the relations subsisting between Versailles and Vienna, the people of Paris (instigated by the Orléans party in their distrust of Versailles) still suspected that French money had been sent into Austria.

Those at the Court of Versailles who were best convinced that this belief, although popular, was an absurd error, had other reasons for dislike of Maria Theresa. The Princesse de Lamballe, for example, who knew the share the Queen-Empress had had in the machinations of Cardinal de Rohan, against the happiness of Marie Antoinette when Dauphiness, declares that "State policy overruled all other considerations in the soul of Maria Theresa." *

Reverence for her mother had been instilled into the soul of Marie Antoinette from her cradle, and had been fostered by the tuition of de Vermond. "Ah!" her Majesty was wont to say, "had State affairs permitted my mother time for the education of her own children, I should have been better fitted for my destiny." But when the

* *Mems. Lamballe*, p. 36.

Emperor Joseph visited Versailles, his conversation, as we have seen, did not increase the respect of the French Court for his august mother. Nevertheless, the reign of Maria Theresa stands out conspicuously in the history of all Europe. It is inextricably interwoven with the annals of Italy, and not less so with the annals of the North. In the middle of the eighteenth century a constellation was formed by three sovereigns, almost equal in glory, though by nature different—Frederick, Catherine, and Maria Theresa. The Queen-Empress of Germany was not, like Catherine of Russia, a writer of laws, or a second “Semiramis.” She was not, like King Frederick of Prussia, the head of modern policy, or the chief of a new military school in Europe; but Maria Theresa had in some things proved herself even more glorious than either of her two great contemporaries. She was virtuous, which Catherine was not; she was brave, as Frederick was. In her early life she was intrepid in danger, calm under difficulties, firm in the maintenance of her just rights. She replaced the Crown of the Cæsars firmly on the head of her own family, and raised Austria to high rank among nations. During a long widowhood she was pious and resigned;

practising every civil and religious duty ; a bright example to her sex at a time when immorality abounded ; and accessible at all times to the just claims of her subjects. Naturally ambitious, the lessons of her early life had taught her self-reliance. It was, therefore, difficult for her to resign the sceptre to her son during her lifetime ; neither was the character of "Joseph the Amiable" a guarantee to her that it was her duty to her subjects to relax her hold upon it as long as—according to traditional policy—she could wield it with advantage to their interests.

The partition of Poland was a foregone conclusion of Peter the Great, in his "*Plan de Domination*," elsewhere quoted. With such neighbours as Frederick and Catherine, it would have been unsafe for Austria to refuse to lend herself to such a scheme.* By this plan of Peter the Great the policy of Catherine was marked out ready for her ; and even during the reign of her aunt and predecessor, Elizabeth Petrowna, Catherine had secretly intrigued, politically, with Frederick of Prussia, who, notwithstanding his scorn for women, had already

* Copie du Plan de Domination Européenne, laissé par Pierre le Grand à ses successeurs au Trône, déposé dans les Archives du Palais de Péterhoff, Près St. Petersbourg.

thought it worth his while to flatter the Archduchess Catherine, by writing her a letter with his own hand, declaring that her "place as a *législatrice* was between Solon and Lycurgus, and that she was greater than Semiramis." *

Necessity rules monarchs, even in the choice of their ministers. The long duration of the power of the Prince de Kaunitz at the Court of Vienna shows that Maria Theresa was compelled to submit to this law. It was de Kaunitz who, upon the side of Austria, achieved the political alliance between France and Austria in 1756—thus neutralizing political precedent in Europe. Originally, Maria Theresa disliked de Kaunitz. For many years after his installation as her Prime Minister at Vienna, the Queen-Empress was in the habit of saying that she gave no greater proof of her love for her subjects than in her toleration of de Kaunitz as a man. De Kaunitz was thirty-four years of age when Maria Theresa ascended the throne. He had passed all his youth at the solemnly licentious Court of her father, Charles VI., and had already got the entangled skeins of

* MS. Mus. Brit. Translated in "Secret Hist. of the Court of France under Louis XV." Appendix, vol ii.

Austrian diplomacy in his hands at the death of that monarch.

The Court of Vienna in those days—before the reign of Maria Theresa—presented a mixture of pride and puerility, of etiquette and barbarism, of magnificence and quaint Teutonic customs. Art and literature were comparatively unknown there. Solemnity reigned before the curtain, and licentiousness peeped out from behind it. De Kaunitz was, as a man of illustrious family, an upholder of ancient rights; and, as a man who believed himself to be a universal genius, a modern innovator. He was grave and frivolous—haughty with his equals, and affable with his hair-dresser. There was no public toilette in Austria, as in France; and, as the adornment of his handsome person occupied a great part of his time, the exclusive de Kaunitz was closeted many hours each day with his *coiffeur*; for the outside of that head which dictated the policy of Europe was the object of the great diplomatist's extreme attention, to the latest time of his life.

Louis XIV. would never be seen without his wig, nor Frederick the Great without his boots (even wearing rouge on field-days, if he thought

his cheeks too pale for his soldiers to look at) ; so why should not de Kaunitz (one of whose maxims it was to think nothing too small for consideration, nor too difficult for achievement) frizzle his hair ? Kaunitz, with his thousand curls, was a proverbial fact, as also a metaphor of twisted and elaborate diplomacy.

When Charles VI. died, and the succession of Maria Theresa was disputed, de Kaunitz held himself aloof for a time from the daughter of his late Imperial master. (Another of this diplomatist's maxims was—“Await opportunities, to know how to seize them when offered.”) He retired to his estate for a while, and thence watched the progress of the “great game,” as Voltaire called it, “in which kings and princes were the players, at a time when Europe was a huge gambling booth.” But, when Fortune smiled on Maria Theresa, de Kaunitz came bowing low to the foot of her throne. “All your Majesty's subjects,” said he, “are eager to offer their services to you, and I have let the crowd pass by before presenting myself, because I desired to be honoured by the especial observation of my sovereign. Madame, my fathers have served your fathers. I have some

few talents to offer. I possess wealth, which (public finance being embarrassed at this moment) I should feel proud to consecrate to the use of the State; at least it may fit me for costly offices. If your Majesty doubt either my ability or my zeal, I will return to my retreat, where the tranquillity that I love awaits me, and which I would only sacrifice in consideration of my duty as a subject."

Maria Theresa did not like the wily suppliant. She looked at his frizzled head, and remembered that he was neither a good churchman nor a good citizen (his faith had been discredited by his works); but part of the Queen-Empress's creed, in those days, was to submit herself to her husband, although in after-years she domineered over her son. The Emperor Francis approved of de Kaunitz—politically. De Kaunitz was rich; the State was poor. De Kaunitz was already initiated into cabinet mysteries. His power of memory was notorious. De Kaunitz, therefore, became Chief Minister of Maria Theresa, who, with feminine tact, henceforth excused herself for the confidence by which she honoured him by declaring, that "she owed a choice so happy for her people to the sagacity of her husband, who knew how to

discover and to reward real merit, even when concealed beneath a mass of absurdities."

These absurdities grew in proportion to royal and imperial favour. De Kaunitz was the wonder and the laughing-stock of his contemporaries. His wisdom was only equalled by his vanity. "There is only one politician in a century; what will become of Austria when I die?" he asked.

Frederick the Great ruled Europe by the sword, and de Kaunitz ruled Europe by diplomacy. It was de Kaunitz who dictated to Maria Theresa the marriages of her children; and if there be truth in the following story, which was believed in by France, to the detriment of Maria Theresa, de Kaunitz, as "the marriage maker," must have had a share in it.

Charles III. of Spain asked the Archduchess Josepha, daughter of Maria Theresa, in marriage for his son, the King of Naples. The Queen-Empress consented. The marriage, by proxy, was performed at Vienna. The bride was on the eve of her departure for Naples. One of the principal objects of Maria Theresa's policy was to aggrandize her power, and to confirm her influence in Italy. She desired to assure herself of the political co-

operation of her daughter, who was about to start for Naples. She therefore catechized her how far she would be inclined to aid and to abet the Imperial policy. In answer to her mother's questions the bride said: "Holy Writ declares that a wife ought to belong to her husband's country; that his people ought to be her people; that she ought to leave all, and cleave unto him only." This answer was heresy—heresy to the Church, in self-interpretation of the Bible, and heresy to the Court, in admitting a doubt of its political infallibility. "But what does the State decree?" asked Maria Theresa. "Is the State above Religion?" demanded the Princess.

The bride's departure was deferred, upon various pretexts. At length, the time for it being again fixed, custom required that the young Archduchess should descend into the vaults of her ancestors, to do homage to them before leaving her country. The wife of the Emperor Joseph II. had died, a few days before, of the small-pox, and had just been buried in these vaults. The bride was in terror of infection, and, when she bade farewell to her mother, declared that they would never meet again. She died of the small-pox before she

reached her adopted country, and was carried back in her coffin, to lie in the vault by the side of her forefathers. Her sister, the Archduchess Caroline (of whom the Emperor Joseph has already told us), replaced her on the throne of Naples.

The Princesse de Lamballe, and Madame Campan, both corroborate this dark story against Maria Theresa, although neither of them alludes to de Kaunitz as having a share in it.

De Kaunitz, however, not only made the marriages of Maria Theresa's children, but it was his boast that he had isolated himself from all human sympathies; whereas Maria Theresa was an inconsolable widow, and professed to love her children.

When the son of de Kaunitz was ill, he never went to see him, and only knew that he was still alive by meeting him, accidentally, in the palace. When the sister of de Kaunitz was ill, he never went to see her, and only knew that she was dead by meeting some of his other relatives in mourning. It was the pride of de Kaunitz to be able to say, truly, "I have no friend." He declared of himself, that he was "only a Statesman, without passion, without sympathy, without love for aught but the public weal."

It is possible that Maria Theresa, if sanctioning her daughter's descent into the infected vaults, believed that no harm could touch her when performing a time-honoured ceremony. The Queen-Empress was unflinching in her idea of duty. She chastised herself. She is said to have worked her own grave-clothes. But de Kaunitz was as free from fanaticism as he was free from human sympathies. Maria Theresa even exempted him from the observance of Church discipline, which she expected all the rest of her Court to obey. His infringements on Court etiquette were also excused by her. The Queen-Empress condescended so far as to apologise to foreign ambassadors, whose respect she desired, for the eccentricities of her favourite Minister, and spoke of him to them as "a tried and faithful subject, for whose peculiarities she craved indulgence in favour of his merits."

Courtiers at Vienna, taking the cue from the Queen-Empress, vied with each other in demonstrations of respect for de Kaunitz. Generally, these demonstrations were as servile as they were insincere. De Kaunitz, naturally vain, and thus flattered, was inflated with self-importance. He isolated himself from the general society of the

Court. He only condescended to speak on any subject at the moment chosen by himself. Even when he did speak, his words were shrouded in mystery. He was concise in the manner, but metaphorical in the matter of his speech. He was an oracle, in whose every word there was a double meaning, or a hidden prophecy. The awe with which he was regarded was increased by this veil of obscurity. De Kaunitz the diplomatist, and Frederick the King, both knew how to arm themselves against possibilities. The King hoped all from fortune, and the diplomatist hoped all from skill. The King combined great designs; he prepared them beforehand, and awaited the success of his intrigues. Keenly alive to the faults of his enemies, he was always observant how to get the start of their movements. The diplomatist also combined great designs, and was prepared to execute them. He undermined all obstacles; he ventilated his plans by subtle insinuations; by studied equivocations he excelled in what has been declared the most rare and difficult art in modern politics—that of seeming to do nothing.

The King, sure of his strength, accelerated the moment of testing it; thus, in the face of the whole

world, dominating over his adversaries, and suddenly making himself master of the situation.

The diplomatist never did for himself what could be done for him by others. This *far niente* policy was a snare to his contemporaries. De Kaunitz not only seemed indolent, but weak to those who saw him. Strangers at Vienna were astonished to find that this "great negotiator of Europe," this celebrated minister of the Queen-Empress Maria Theresa, passed whole mornings at his toilette; that he wasted hours in deciding on the design of an embroidery for his vest, or on the colour of a lining for his coat; that, although an old man when he had arrived at the height of his fame and power, he seemed to interest himself in nothing so much as in the quarrels of players and dancers, in the form of his snuff-box, in the shape of his wig, or in the setting of his diamonds. To artists and sculptors he would say: "I was born for great success of all kinds, but I have left the pencil and the chisel to you, reserving to myself the genius whereby to judge of your merits." Professedly dead to all human emotions, de Kaunitz had outlived his devotion to Maria Theresa, or she had outlived his reverence for her. During the widowhood of the

Queen-Empress, when her son, though nominally sovereign, was kept in subjection by her, de Kaunitz, secure of the present, spinning a web for the future, and believing, according to his maxim, "all things possible," even the death of the mighty Empress (who was called "immortal,") transferred his allegiance from her to her son, and became the instrument of all the young Emperor's passions.*

Of the means originally adopted by Maria Theresa, at the instigation of de Kaunitz, to achieve the end of a political alliance with France, Marie Antoinette (whose feminine instincts, as before said, were stronger than her political ones) disapproved, as the following anecdote may show :

When the Marquis de Marigny, brother of the late Madame de Pompadour, died, there was a sale of his effects. Amongst these effects was a very large miniature portrait of Maria Theresa. At the back of this portrait, the Marquis de Marigny had written : "The Queen-Empress presented this likeness of herself to my sister ; it was surrounded by superb Brazilian diamonds." A lady of the Court, thinking to give pleasure to the Queen, or covertly to annoy her Majesty, bought this por-

* Les Conseils du Trône. Tome i., pp. 262—288, *passim*.

trait and presented it to her. As soon as the lady had withdrawn from her presence Marie Antoinette ordered the portrait to be removed from her sight, saying : " Perhaps I partly owe to it the honour of being Queen of France ; but, truly, sovereigns are sometimes constrained to too many condescensions."

Although Marie Antoinette's marriage was the result of the alliance between France and Austria, during the time of Madame de Pompadour, and although the present alliance between France and Spain was the consequence of "The Family Compact," which was also achieved under the auspices of Madame de Pompadour, it was not likely that the Queen of France should be well affected towards the memory of the late King's mistress. Marie Antoinette, although impatient of the restraints of etiquette, as we have seen, was scrupulous in her conduct as a wife. The Duc de Lauzun was banished from her Majesty's presence for having presumed on her affability towards him.

The Duc de Lauzun, in his *Mémoires*, excuses his disgrace at Court by attempting to throw blame upon the Queen; but the Princesse de Lam-

balle declares it to have been the consequence of his vanity in mistaking the Queen's admiration of a heron's plume which he wore, for admiration of himself. It was in the apartments of the Princesse de Guémenée, the *gouvernante* of the Queen's daughter, that the Queen beheld de Lauzun arrayed in this plume. She expressed her admiration of it to Madame de Guémenée, whereupon de Lauzun took it out of his helmet, and presented it, through the Princess, to her Majesty. The Queen was much embarrassed, not knowing whether to refuse or to accept of the plume; but her "*bonté incorrigible*," forbade her to hurt the feelings of de Lauzun, and she accepted his offering. Afterwards, she told those about her that she could not lie under an obligation to one of her subjects; and, as giving a present in return to the Duc de Lauzun would be considered too great a condescension on her part, she had determined to wear the plume once, in token of acknowledgement. The Queen did so; and de Lauzun's head was turned by the compliment. He solicited an audience, which the Queen granted. The audience took place in the Queen's Cabinet, at Versailles, and lasted one moment. The door of the cabinet

quickly re-opened ; the Queen was heard to utter two words, in an accent of unusual indignation. "*Sortez, monsieur !*" and de Lauzun was banished from Court.*

The Duc de Lauzun tried to regain the Queen's favour by presenting himself at the *soirées* of the Duchesse de Polignac ; but, at her Majesty's command, he was interdicted from appearing where she was present. From that moment he allied himself with the Orléans party against the Court of Versailles.

By accepting de Lauzun's gift, the Queen had hoped to conciliate a noble whose disaffection to the crown was already suspected. (In after years de Lauzun inherited the title of de Biron, and was one of the Queen's most implacable enemies at the time of the Revolution.)

In America, de Lauzun fought for Liberty. He was brave in action, brilliant in conversation, noble in appearance, and licentious in morals. The Princesse de Lamballe asserts that the Queen had never liked de Lauzun, because her Majesty loved the Duchesse de Chartres, and believed that his intimacy with the Duc de

* *Mems. Campan*, p. 140.

Chartres was baneful to the domestic happiness of the Palais Royal.

De Lauzun married the grand-daughter of the Maréchale de Luxembourg, who was, as we have seen, the friend of Voltaire, the friend of Franklin, and Grand-Mistress of the Freemason Lodge of the "Nine Sisters" in Paris. In the salons of Madame de Luxembourg, philosophy was welcome, and liberty was advocated.

As a soldier, de Lauzun stands prominently forth in the annals of the American rebellion. In 1781, the Count de Rochambeau and the Duc de Lauzun, having now arrived with their troops in Connecticut, on their way to join the American army, Washington prepared for spirited operations. The plans and counter-plans which followed need not be detailed here; they culminated in the siege of Yorktown, in the autumn of that same year.*

* The present moment was one of critical emergency for the cause of Independence. The more so, as England knew of its jeopardy from the following letter, addressed by Silas Deane in Paris, to Captain Duer, at Philadelphia; which letter was intercepted by the English on the seas, and laid before the King in London:

"Paris, June 14th, 1781.

"... You may be sure no loan has been obtained either in

Yorktown was situated on a projecting bank, on the south side of York river, opposite a promontory, called Gloucester Point. The river was not more than a mile wide, but deep enough to admit ships of a large size and burthen. Lord Cornwallis concentrated his forces in Yorktown. He had proceeded to fortify the opposite points, calculating on having the works finished by the beginning of October, at which time Sir Henry

Spain or Holland ; that there is not the least probability of any ; that the resignation of M. Necker has been a sensible shock to public credit in France ; and that great embarrassments are apprehended in a few months, on account of money ; . . . that Dr. Franklin is now under acceptance for nearly three millions of livres more than he has funds to answer for . . . The doctor may possibly obtain fresh grants—I doubt it—I know he has been refused, and, I am told, in rather harsh terms. Congress drew bills on Mr. President Laurens, as being in Holland many months before he sailed from America ; they drew on Mr. Jay long before his arrival in Spain. These bills have been honoured, and you in America taught to believe that it was from money received in Spain and Holland. No such thing ! Those bills have been uniformly sent to Dr. Franklin for payment ; even the salaries of Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams (the commissioners) have been drawn for on Dr. Franklin, who has paid them out of the monies received here. . . . Congress, though repeatedly advised by Dr. Franklin not to draw on him, have drawn on him without bounds, and generally without advice. . . . The agents of private States sent over here on one mad Quixotical scheme or other, have been furnished for their expenses out of the sum granted for the support of our army ; our ambassadors and

Clinton intended to recommence operations on the Chesapeake. Believing that he had no present enemy but Lafayette to guard against, Cornwallis felt so secure in his position, that he wrote to Sir Henry on the 22nd of August, offering to detach a thousand or twelve hundred men to strengthen New York against the apprehended attack of the combined armies.

While Cornwallis, undervaluing his youthful adversary, felt thus secure, Lafayette, in conformity to the instructions of Washington, was taking measures to cut off any retreat by land which

agents have for some time past cost us at least £20,000 sterling per annum; the relief of prisoners and other contingencies, more than as much more. All this has been taken from the money afforded us by France for our army. . . . The Ministers here see no end to this proceeding, if allowed to run on. . . . It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that France, under actual circumstances, will hold her hand, and that you will soon find the bills of Congress protested for non-acceptance, or non-payment; nothing prevents it at this moment, but the fear of a violent revolution. . . . I know and confess the difficult situation of Congress. And I know, also (what I am sure they will not confess), that they have brought themselves into it by their cabals, their ignorance, and their mismanagement. . . . I have for some time since had the fate, though I shall never have the fame, of Cassandra. . . . I have predicted misfortunes and disappointments. . . . I could still prophecy, but the cold hand of despair is upon me. . . .

(Signed) SILAS DEANE."

—Parliamentary Journal, 1782.

his lordship might attempt on the arrival of de Grasse. As to himself, Lafayette was prepared, as soon as he should hear of the arrival of de Grasse, to form a junction with the troops which were to be landed from the fleet. Thus, a net was quietly drawn round Cornwallis by "the boy," who he had declared should not escape him. On the 5th of September, Washington left Philadelphia, and was met by an express bearing tidings of the arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake with twenty-eight ships of the line. Washington and Rochambeau that day met, rejoiced, and dined together.

When the news that the Count de Grasse had arrived reached Philadelphia, the French minister (the Chevalier de la Luzerne) was entertaining a party of officers, after a review of the French troops, at which the President of Congress, and all "the fashion" of Philadelphia, had been present. When the despatches came, announcing the arrival of de Grasse, and the landing of 3,000 troops, under the Marquis St. Simon, the news was not only welcome to the officers seated at the French minister's banquet, but, soon spreading, caused crowds of people to assemble without; and

the air was rent with loud huzzas, and cries of "Long live Louis XVI." Loyalty to the King of France, though languishing in Paris, was loud in Philadelphia.

The appearance of the French fleet, under Count de Grasse, in the Delaware, roused Lord Cornwallis to a sense of his danger. Three French ships of the line and a frigate anchored at the mouth of York river; the forces of the Marquis de St. Simon joined those of Lafayette. More French forces, under M. de Choisy, with siege, artillery, and military stores, were conveyed by a squadron under de Barras.* Lord Cornwallis found himself closed in on every side. Retreat was impossible. All he could do was to strengthen his works, and to send off expresses to Sir Henry Clinton to apprise him of his danger.†

The Abbé Robin, chaplain of the Count de Rochambeau's troops, who has already told us of his first impressions of Boston, thus describes the siege of Yorktown.‡

* The Count de Barras, a French veteran about sixty years of age, who had commanded d'Estaing's vanguard when he forced the entrance of Newport Harbour.

† Life of Washington, 1321, 1327, *passim*.

‡ "Campagne de l'Armée de M. le Comte de Rochambeau," par M. l'Abbé Robin. Lettre imprimée pour S. M. la Reine, et pour Madame la Comtesse d'Artois.

“ York Camp, 6th of November, 1781.

“ On the 28th September, the combined army started from Williamsburgh to invest York; it advanced the same day to within three quarters of a mile from the enemy. Ordinarily these approaches are made with great circumspection; encampments multiply as they draw near to the enemy; but the impatience of the troops upon this occasion excited more enterprise, and, in sight of the enemy, a march of twelve miles was dared across a dangerous road, upon a loose, sandy ground, and through excessive heats. One young French colonel was so eager and impatient that he did all he could to persuade General Washington to attack two of the enemy's redoubts instantly. General Washington confided the direction of the siege to M. le Comte de Rochambeau, who wisely recommended rest for the troops, and time to reconnoitre. The Americans, preceded by M. le Marquis de Lafayette, formed the right column; and the French, preceded by their Grenadiers and Chasseurs, formed the left column. The army of M. le Comte de Rochambeau, composed of the Bourbonnais regiments, Royal Deux-Ponts, Soissonois, &c. occupied the centre. The army of

M. le Marquis de St. Simon extended itself to the left, towards York river. The Americans occupied the right. On the night of the 6th the trench was opened. The Bourbonnais and Soissonnois regiments, commanded by M. le Baron de Vio-mésnil, and 1500 Americans, commanded by M. de Lafayette, posted themselves all night in a deep ravine, to protect the 1500 trench labourers. At the same time the regiment of Tourraine opened the trench at the left, and established a battery against a redoubt. The activity of the labourers and the softness of the earth rendered the parallel in a condition to receive the troops next day. The troops entered, drums beating. The opening of the trench, which is generally the most murderous epoch of the siege, was in this case effected without shedding of blood; a circumstance the more fortunate, because the wounded would not have had straw to lie down upon, nor linen with which to dress their wounds. Batteries were constructed during the 8th and 9th. Those of the Americans and of M. de St. Simon opened fire at five o'clock. The batteries of the army of M. de Rochambeau played on the 10th, at seven o'clock in the morning. It was easy to distinguish between the

sounds of the fires : that of the enemy was slow and irregular ; ours was quick and sustained. Our engineers knew how to choose the most advantageous positions, and our artillerymen rendered the effect complete by their exactness and quickness."

When two or three batteries were ready to fire upon the town, General Washington put the match to the first gun. A furious discharge of cannon and mortars immediately followed, and Lord Cornwallis received his first salutation. Governor Nelson, who had pledged his own property to raise funds for the War of Independence, was present at this siege of the town where he had lately dwelt in much honour. He was asked which part of the town could be most effectively cannonaded, and he pointed to rising ground where stood a large handsome house, which had been his own, and was now supposed to be the headquarters of the enemy. An uncle of Governor Nelson, who for thirty years had been secretary under the Royal Colonial Government, was still in the town. He was very old and infirm. As a servant of the Crown, he had remained with the English, inside the town, although his two sons were amongst the

besiegers; they were soldiers in Washington's army.

These two young men were now alarmed for their father's safety. In their terrible anxiety one of the worst horrors of civil war was visible; but in this case natural affection was stronger than a youthful ardour for glory, and General Washington, even at this supreme moment of his career, was mindful of individual suffering. Pitying the young men's anxiety, he sent in a flag to Yorktown, with a request to Lord Cornwallis that the old man, their father, should be permitted to leave the place. "I was witness of the painful solicitude of those young men—one of them kept his eyes fixed upon the gate of the town to which the flag would come out, as though awaiting his own sentence of life or death, in the reply that was to be received. Lord Cornwallis humanely granted this request, and the old man was led forth from the town. His grey hairs, his stately person, and noble countenance commanded respect and veneration among the besiegers. He was conveyed to Washington's head-quarters.*

* Life of Washington. *Mems. de Chastellux*, vol. ii.

“Lord Cornwallis,” continues the Abbé Robin, “had not prepared his troops for their siege. He had announced to them that we were unprovided with siege artillery,—that our troops were scarcely cured of their wounds, and that those of M. de St. Simon, formed in our islands by undisciplined vagabonds, and enervated by a burning climate, would soon be conquered even by the first frosts of America; that, for the American troops, English soldiers knew how to estimate them; and that, moreover, powerful succour would soon render them—the besieged—besiegers.

“Thus, the event, being unexpected, struck them with consternation. When the terrific noise of our batteries was heard, we beheld them flying from their redoubts, and their batteries were soon silent. I ran along the lines . . . I found a large ditch, about four feet deep, wide enough to drive carriages in . . . the batteries were placed upon platforms in the inner side of the ditch, raised and bordered by palissades. The enemy’s side was surrounded by a large parapet, in which cannon-holes had been drilled. (All these works, as also those of the enemy, were simply made of earth.) I saw those infernal machines—the cannons—play. I saw the

swift bullet cleave the air, strike, and rebound against the enemy's redoubts, causing the boards which formed their embrasures to fly upwards in splinters. My eye followed the slow and murderous bomb in its parabolical course, sometimes burying itself in the roofs of houses, sometimes raising whirlwinds of dust by its explosion—dust which was the wreck of human habitations . . . I saw human creatures flung upwards by it to a height of more than twenty feet, and fall dead or shattered in the distance. This terrible spectacle excites in the beholder anxiety, admiration, and horror, all at the same moment. It fascinates; it fixes, and enchains attention. Deserters who came over to us told us that the besieged, waking from sleep, as it were, to a horrible death, knew not whither to fly; that the General, disquieted by the discontent of the Hessians, could no longer confide his advanced guards but to the English . . . I went to the depôt for the wounded. This was placed quite close to the trench to which the enemy's fire was principally directed. The cabin where the sick and dying lay was made of bundles of wood. While I was in attendance there, bullets fell upon it. In the night of the 11th, a second parallel was opened,

about 140 fathoms from this place . . . It is in sieges that real courage manifests itself. During a battle, the fear of shame, tumult, and example, intoxicate, revive, and animate the most timid; and for an instant, a man, excited, surpasses himself; but in the midst of the long fatigues of a siege, where dangers are incessantly renewed, where, in the silence and solitude of night, a man contemplates the cold blood of his dead comrades; compares the reality of loss of life with the uncertainty of hopes of glory; then it is that the constant courage of a soldier can only be the effect of a purified love of glory, and of an invincible attachment to his duties. Our French soldiers were rivals amongst themselves; each officer envied the fate of the other who was exposed to the greatest danger; obscure soldiers even disputed the honour with their illustrious chiefs. Our artillery corps, distinguished by the intelligence and intrepidity of its officers, is not less so by the address, the courage, and the spirit of its soldiers . . . General Washington beheld the effects of this with astonishment. A bomb or a bullet, well aimed, excited in them the lively emotion of a passionate sportsman who eagerly watches for the fleet stag,

or the swift bird. A gunner had his foot carried off by a bullet . . . I tried to console him in his first moments of agony . . . 'Ah!' said he, 'I am less afflicted at the loss of my foot, than for its not having allowed me time to fire.' He is dead of this wound, lamenting, to the last, his *coup manqué*.*

"Four hundred of the besieged, calling themselves Americans, surprised a battery, spiked seven pieces of cannon, killed and made some men prisoners, and wounded thirty. A child fifteen years old, an officer's servant, asleep in the environs by chance, received twelve or fourteen bayonet wounds. . . . Some of the enemy's soldiers, wounded, were brought into our hospitals, and received the same care there as that bestowed on our own men. From the 16th to the 17th our batteries began to play. They broke some palissades, and made a breach. Lord Cornwallis, seeing himself hemmed

* "Washington was an intensely excited spectator of these assaults, on the result of which so much depended. He had dismounted, given his horse to a servant, and taken his stand in the grand battery with Generals Knox, Lincoln, and their Staffs. The risk he ran of a chance shot, while watching the attack through an embrasure, made those about him uneasy. One of his aides-de-camp ventured to observe that the situation was very much exposed. 'If you think so,' replied he, gravely, 'you are at liberty to step back.'"—Life of Washington, vol. iv., p. 1344.

in on all sides, decided to pass the night at Gloucester. . . . The bad weather prevented him. At ten o'clock A.M., on the 17th, he sent a *parlementaire* to demand a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours. Savannah was remembered,* and the request of Lord Cornwallis was refused. Another *parlementaire* then came. . . . Two hours were granted. Afterwards the armistice was prolonged. Lord Cornwallis then demanded what capitulation would be granted to him. 'That of Charlestown,' answered Washington. M. le Vicomte de Noailles, and Colonel Laurens, an American officer (the son of the President of Congress, who was a prisoner in the Tower of London), acted as Commissioners.† One of the

* See chapter iii., vol. ii., of this narrative.

† By the capitulation of Yorktown, Lord Cornwallis was exchanged for President Laurens. On Monday, Dec. 17th, 1781, Burke represented to the House of Commons that the treatment received by President Laurens in the Tower of London was unworthy of an enemy so great and enlightened as England; that the President's health had suffered; that he had had to pay exorbitant fees; and that, having been refused an opportunity of supplying himself with money, and being still pressed by the officer of the Tower for £90, for fees due, Mr. Laurens, instead of expressing indignation at the grossness of the insult, made it a matter of pleasantry; he only said, "Really, friend, if you make such demands upon me, I cannot afford to stay here; I must quit my lodgings, and go to some less expensive place of

first things asked of them by the English was the names of our chiefs of Engineers and of Artillery. The English magnanimously confessed that it was impossible to show more science and genius than these had shown. Upon the 18th at noon the capitulation was signed. Lord Cornwallis and his army rendered themselves prisoners of war.* Upon the 19th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the

residence." "What justice and reason could not effect," said Burke, "had suddenly been brought about by a star which had risen in the West. . . . This was the news that Lord Cornwallis was in the custody of Mr. Laurens's son, a brave, worthy, and polished officer in the American service; and that his treatment of his lordship was directly the reverse of that experienced by his father in the prison of which Lord Cornwallis was governor. . . . In reply, Lord George Germaine read a letter from the Lieutenant-governor of the Tower, dated November, 1780, which, stated:—"Dr. Franklin wrote over to inquire whether Mr. Laurens was well or ill-treated. I, myself, therefore, waited on Mr. Laurens in his apartments to ask if he had any cause of complaint; he told me that he was treated with every degree of civility and kindness which he could possibly hope for from his situation; and he particularly expressed his gratitude for the indulgence granted him to walk about a part of the Tower for exercise, a circumstance to which he attributed an obvious improvement of his health and strength."—*Military Journal*.

* The Abbé Robin, in his account of the siege of Yorktown, above translated, gives all the articles of capitulation. The document (referring principally to matters of temporary and immediate interest) is too long for insertion here. A fair translation of it may be found in the *London Political Magazine*, 1782.

English and Hessians filed, banners folded, and drums slowly beating, between the French and American armies: General Washington being at the head of one, and the Count de Rochambeau at the head of the other. The garrison of Gloucester filed before the troops of M. de Choisi. (Lord Cornwallis was ill. General O'Hara, bare-headed, apologised for his lordship's non-appearance to General Washington, who courteously replied, but designated Major-General Lincoln as the officer who was to receive the submission of the garrison.)* The Abbé continues:

"The two columns of the armies of France and America extended more than a mile. The Americans were upon the right; their disproportion of age, shape, dress, some tattered and dirty, contrasted with the appearance of the French soldiers, —trained troops, disciplined, and all in uniform as though for a field-day. The English soldiers marched through these two columns, banners folded, arms reversed, drums muffled, and apparently in as fine

* In a French notice of the Count de Rochambeau (*Nouvelle Biographie*, Paris, 1834), it is stated, that General O'Hara presented his sword to the Count; whereupon Rochambeau pointed out Washington to O'Hara, saying, "I, sir, am but an auxiliary of the American army."

order as were the French soldiers. The eyes of these brave Englishmen were cast down ; each man advanced in succession to an open place agreed upon, and there silently laid down his arms.* The English officers, returning, saluted the French officers, which salute was courteously acknowledged. Americans, who remained in Yorktown, unused to the strict discipline and rigid etiquette which restrained the French at such a time, so affronted the English, that several English persons came to claim the protection of the French, which protection was readily accorded: amongst these there was an English lady, who implored that a French guard should be appointed over her house, that she and her children might be protected from American violence."

* Many of the soldiers threw down their muskets with a violence sufficient to break them. This irregularity was checked by General Lincoln ; yet it was excusable in brave men in their unfortunate predicament.—Thacker, p. 346. The number of prisoners made by the above capitulation amounted to 7,073, of whom 5,950 were rank and file. Six commissioned officers, and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers, had previously been captured in the two redoubts. The loss of the combined army in killed was about 300. The loss sustained by the garrison during the siege in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 552. The combined army to which Lord Cornwallis surrendered was estimated at 16,000, of whom 7000 were French, 5,500 continentals, and 3500 militia.—Holmes' Annals, vol. ii., p. 333.—(Quoted by Washington Irving).

But the French Abbé, who relates this fact, acknowledges that the humanity of General Washington was equal to that of Count Rochambeau.

These two great chiefs, French and American, returned thanks—each according to his creed—to God who had gotten them the victory. Congress issued a proclamation appointing a day of general thanksgiving, and it was decreed that a column commemorative of the alliance of France and America, and of the victory just achieved, should be erected at Yorktown. (To this day—1862—the “Day of Capitulation” is solemnly observed in America.)

When Lord George Germaine announced the capitulation to Lord North in Downing Street, the “ostensible minister” flung up his arms and cried: “Oh God! it is all over!” When intelligence of the event reached France, the Court and the people there were for once united by a common joy.

As the Princesse de Lamballe is now about to show us, the gathering cloud of the Queen’s dark destiny was then for a moment streaked with sunshine.

CHAPTER VI.

A Dauphin born—Joy of the Princesse Elizabeth and of the Princesse de Lamballe—Chagrin of M. le Comte d'Artois—The King's *Te Deum* at Notre Dame—Contemporary comments on the public thanksgiving for the Dauphin's birth and for the capitulation at Yorktown—Last public appearance of M. le Comte de Maurepas—Paris Trades' Deputations at Versailles and their offerings—Evil omen on the terrace of Versailles—Death of the King's Prime Minister—Re-appearance of Dr. Mesmer in Paris—Original Memorials to Dr. Mesmer—Cardinal de Bernis—Visit of the Duchesse de Chartres to Cardinal de Bernis—Conversation between Cardinal de Bernis and Madame de Genlis—Republican French heroes at Versailles—The Count de Lauraguais—Contemporary chronicles of the Queen's visit to the Hôtel de Ville in Paris—"Contemporary sugar-candy course of history"—The people's ball at Versailles—The *Poissardes*—M. le Duc de Crillon at Minorca—Departure of the Count d'Artois and the Duc de Bourbon for Gibraltar—Recruits for Count de Rochambeau's army—Departure of M. le Duc de Lauzun and of

M. le Comte de Ségur for America—Visit of young French nobles to a Convent at Terceira—Original account of their adventures there—Heraldic devices of French heroes in America—The American militia-man's "Cap of Liberty"—Polly Lecton, the American Quakeress—Lally and Tippoo Saib—French chivalry in India—Mutual appreciation of French and English commanders at Gibraltar—Horace Walpole's triumph over "the Rev. Mr. Cole"—Reception of Lafayette at the Opera of Paris—Contemporary chronicles of Lafayette's seditious sayings—Visit of the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess of Russia to France—Antipathy of Marie Antoinette to Catherine of Russia—Re-appearance of Cardinal de Rohan in France—Contemporary chronicles of the sayings and doings of the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess of Russia—The last days of Diderot—Original Decrees of Versailles in favour of Protestants in France—Marie Antoinette and Madame de Genlis—Noble conduct of Admiral Rodney towards M. le Comte de Grasse—Generous reception of the vanquished French commander in London—*Point de Grace* in Paris—Reception of Lord Cornwallis in England—Lafayette and d'Estaing at Cadiz—The treaty of peace—The later years of d'Estaing—Dr. Franklin's vow fulfilled—Original autograph letter from Dr. Franklin to his son—Dr. Franklin's last days, last bequest, and epitaph—Return of the Count de Rochambeau to France—His reception at Versailles—His reception in London—Brief popularity of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette—The Princesse de Lamballe's account of herself and Gluck, the musician—The death of Metastasio—Figaro!—Original reflections of the Abbé Robin on French Philosophy in the eighteenth century—Summary—Lafayette and Napoléon I.

A DAUPHIN was born on the 22nd of October, 1781. "To prevent a recurrence of the disasters which had signalized the Queen's first accouchement," says the Princess de Lamballe, "the number of persons who were permitted to enter her Majesty's chamber on this occasion was limited. The silence observed by all present at the moment that the babe entered the world, left the Queen in uncertainty as to its sex, until the King (after the keeper of the seals had verified that an heir to the throne was born) said to her Majesty, with tears of joy in his eyes: 'Madame, you have fulfilled the hopes of the nation and myself; you are mother of a Dauphin.'

"The Princesse Elizabeth and I were so overjoyed by this news, that we embraced everybody who was in the room."

"The joy of the King," says Madame Campan, "was extreme; tears flowed from his eyes; he presented his hand to everybody without distinction, and his happiness entirely overcame his usually sombre manner. Gay, affable, he incessantly renewed occasions of uttering the words, 'my son,' or 'the Dauphin.'"

Madame de Guémenée (the first *gouvernante* of

the infant Princess) brought the Dauphin in her arms for the Queen to look at.

The Queen commended her new-born babe to the care of Madame de Guéménée, and the Dauphin was forthwith installed in his State apartment, where the privileged were admitted to look at him in his cradle.

The Count d'Artois was the only one who did not participate in the universal joy with which the Dauphin's birth was greeted.* His own son, the little Duc d'Angoulême, had hitherto been heir-presumptive to the throne. The Duc d'Angoulême met his father in the Dauphin's apartment, where visits of court custom and ceremony were being made, and where homage was already rendered to the unconscious infant. "Oh ! mon Dieu, papa !" cried his son, to the Count d'Artois, running up to him, "how small my cousin is !"

* This the first-born son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette died at Versailles in 1789, after the birth of his brother, the Duc de Normandie, whose subsequent fate was still more unfortunate. The short life of the Dauphin, whose birth caused such universal joy in 1781, was one of continual suffering. Delicate in health, and deformed in body, he was jealous of his younger brother. The maternal character of Marie Antoinette was especially admirable in the gentleness and love she displayed towards the elder Dauphin.

“There will come a day when you will find him too great,” said the Count. There were people present who caught his words, and understood their signification better than his child did. But the Count d’Artois was obliged, outwardly, to return thanks for the Dauphin’s birth.

On the 27th October, 1781, the journals of Paris announce :—

“The King went in state, yesterday, to Notre Dame, there to assist at the *Te Deum*, sung in thanksgiving for the happy event which fills the nation with joy. In his Majesty’s carriage, Monsieur was seated on the King’s left hand; M. le Comte d’Artois, and M. le Duc d’Orléans on the seat facing; and M. le Duc de Chartres and M. le Prince de Condé at the sides. Money was distributed by the way. The procession went round by the longer way of the Quai des Théatins, to give the people more opportunity of seeing and of applauding the King. His Majesty entered the cathedral of Notre Dame about five o’clock. He was placed in the midst of the choir, under a dais of the same height as that of the Archbishop. The Princes of the blood and of the Royal house surrounded the King In the sanctuary, at the

right of the altar, were the bishops ; and at the opposite side were the foreign ministers, &c. The King, when leaving the cathedral, went to offer up a prayer in the chapel of the Virgin. His Majesty was reconducted to the gates of the church by the chapter ; the Archbishop, who had the honour of reading an address to his Majesty on his arrival, walking at the right hand of the King."

On the 2nd December, 1781, it is announced that upon the preceding Tuesday a *Te Deum* was sung, in thanksgiving to God for the victory of the Count de Rochambeau. Upon this occasion the canons of the cathedral were clothed in their black capuchin robes and cassocks, which it is their custom to wear throughout the winter from All Saints' Day. The King was surprised at their wearing this sombre accoutrement upon the occasion of his thanksgiving for the Dauphin's birth, and asked if they were cynics. The younger amongst the canons felt this reproach, and mooted a suggestion of changing their black garments upon the day when the Queen was to return thanks, so that her Majesty's still susceptible nerves should not be shocked by their gloomy appearance. The elder canons, attached to ancient

custom, refused to depart from it until, fortunately, a precedent was found for their wearing violet robes and cassocks upon days of thanksgiving; which precedent was adopted on Tuesday last, at the *Te Deum* for Count de Rochambeau's victory in America."

De Maurepas was on his death-bed at Versailles when the Dauphin was born there. The King was the first to inform his aged minister of that event. The apartments of de Maurepas were over those occupied by his Majesty, and the King, when he left the Queen, hastened to accept the congratulations of his oldest servant. The heart of Louis XVI. was overflowing at that moment with joy, gratitude, and a desire for sympathy. If anything could have softened the soul of de Maurepas, who had delighted in mischief and intrigue, and whose philosophy it had been to laugh at everything, it would have been the sight of the young monarch, now earnestly happy, piously thankful, full of hope for the future of his people and of his family. But de Maurepas was a type of the things that were about to pass away. He laughed to the last. A letter from Versailles, dated Nov. 13, 1781, says: "He has very little fever;

he has had moments of gaiety, and has eaten some rice-cream. The King came to see him at six o'clock this evening, and insisted that Madame de Maurepas, who was in the room, should remain seated while he was present. His Majesty remained with M. de Maurepas about a quarter of an hour, and then withdrew, fearing to fatigue the invalid too much." Until September in that year de Maurepas had been still blithe, and seen by the people. The Court chronicles mention his having in that month dined with the Count d'Estaing at the "*Redoute Chinoise*," and allude to his having gone afterwards with that hero to the "*Variétés Amusantes*," where they saw the "*Fou Raisonnable*" acted. De Maurepas courted popularity to the last, and, shining in the sight of the people of Paris by the borrowed light of d'Estaing's glory, he was hailed by them, "Vive d'Estaing!" "Vive de Maurepas!" The prime minister of the King of France, the last time he appeared in public, was thus indebted for applause to the champion of American liberty.

But Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were never so beloved by their people as at this time of their lives. The tradespeople of Paris,

elated by American victory, vied with each other in rendering homage to the Dauphin. Each of the trades companies brought an offering to Versailles for the infant. Bootmakers presented the most wonderful pair of smallest boots. Tailors, a miniature uniform; even butchers, bakers, and masons of Paris brought a gift to Versailles for the Dauphin. Again the King stood in the balcony of Versailles, where he had stood six years before, when the people (excited by the priests and the parliament against his Finance Comptroller, Turgot) had pressed up to the gates of the château, clamouring for bread; and where, five years before that insurrection, his grandfather had stood, looking at the popular fêtes in the grounds below upon the occasion of his marriage. It pleased Louis XVI. to see the trades deputations arrive on the terrace below the balcony. Each deputation carried a banner emblematic of the trade it represented; but, suddenly, amongst these banners of gay and various colours appeared a black one, displaying the hideous device of a skull and crossed bones. At the same moment that this black banner appeared, the King's aunt, the Princesse Sophie, presented herself before his Majesty

in a state of anger and trepidation at the grave-diggers of Paris having presumed to join the procession formed by the different corporations. Thus, as on the occasion of his marriage fêtes, the mind of Louis XVI. was again depressed by a bad omen. The soldiers on guard quickly separated the grave-diggers from the other companies, but not before their inopportune appearance had overshadowed the joy of the King.

A month after the Dauphin's birth, de Maurepas died. He was in his eighty-first year when he expired in his apartments at Versailles, having held various offices in the cabinet at various times since his eighteenth year. The King was deeply affected at the loss of his prime minister, whom he had recalled from exile to be his adviser on his accession to the throne: "Alas!" said the King, "never again shall I hear my dear old friend's footstep in the room above my head!"

Even Mesmer, who had just re-appeared in Paris, could not save de Maurepas, who had had such faith in him,* and had presented his Memorial to the King three years before—although the

* See chapter ii., vol. ii., of this narrative.

Journal d'un Observateur had just indignantly declared: "Degraded though M. le Docteur Mesmer be by a jealous Faculty—insulted though he be by lampooners who depict him as a charlatan, an impostor, and a wanton knave—he receives addresses which testify to his skill; he is presented with memorials to his honour; he is declared to be the benefactor of humanity."*

The portfolio of de Maurepas was temporarily confided to de Vergennes. The Church party hoped that Cardinal de Bernis (the predecessor of de Choiseul in office during the Seven Years' War) would succeed de Maurepas. During the twenty-two years which had elapsed since his resignation of office in the Cabinet of Versailles, de Bernis had lived at Rome, as "Protector of the

* A memorial was published in Paris, 1781, concerning an extraordinary cure that Mesmer had worked on a young lady of Beauvais, to which memorial the following inscription was prefixed:—

"MESMERO LIBERATORI.

Ob Sanitatem incredibili modo restitutam,
Hos versus posuit grati animi puella;
Quæ linguâ, pedibus, et oculis diu capta,
Nullam ab arte spem aut viam sanitatis expectat.
'Infans cæca, trahens gressum, te, Mesmere, posco
Verba, pedes, oculos; ambulo, cerno, loquor.'

French Church." He was in favour at the Court of Spain, and it was now the policy of Versailles to conciliate Madrid. As a member of the French Academy, it was also hoped that the Cardinal would have devised some infallible means of checking the rapid spread of Voltairianism in France. Every new popular publication now breathed the spirit of Voltaire. There had been a time when de Bernis himself had been in French fashion as an author. Men and women still lived who had been converted from sin to sanctity by his sermons, and from gloom to gaiety by his poems. Versatile was de Bernis; a type of the eighteenth century, which had now grown old, was this churchman who had been the *protégé* of the Pompadour, and was now the pet of the Pope; who had power equally to excite the tears of a congregation in the cathedral, and the laughter of the company at Court; whose *stérile abondance* had been derided by Frederick of Prussia, at the very moment that his schemes had outwitted that monarch. Madame Adelaïde, the King's godmother, represented to his Majesty the advantages to be derived to and from the Church by the Cardinal's recall to the Cabinet. An *on dit* went the round of such of the public journals

as were sanctioned by Royalty, that even before the death of de Maurepas the King had written with his own hand to de Bernis at Rome. This *on dit* is immediately followed in the same journals by paragraphs announcing how the "progress of philosophy" was evinced by the way in which the nation's joy had shown itself on the occasion of the birth of M. le Dauphin; that instead of public money being expended, as upon former occasions, in frivolous fêtes and in costly diversions, "it has been applied, through the agency of parochial officers and sisters of charity, to the relief of the poor. At Rennes, by parliamentary decree, 6,000 livres have been so applied. In Dauphiné, Monseigneur the archbishop, and even the civil authorities, have dowered virtuous young maidens in marriage, and distributed alms And even a private individual, at Villeneuve-le-Roy, instead of illuminating his house, has paid, with the money such illuminations would cost, taxes that were due by the poor of his parish."

Although Government assumes the credit of these reforms to itself, yet philosophy boasts that, by sanctioning them, Government was driven by necessity to follow in its footsteps. The economy

which had been anonymously mooted at the time of the marriage of Louis XVI. was now, at the birth of his son, no longer whispered as "the singular idea of a good citizen," but was openly advocated; and a good citizen, who refused to illumine his house upon the birth of the heir-apparent to the throne, was even thus eulogised by Government organs.

These signs of the times rendered the rapidly-increasing party, which still clung to old creeds and to old customs, anxious for the return of Cardinal de Bernis, who was nominal "Protector of the French Church." But the tide of popular opinion was too strong against this party; that tide which was already breaking down old barriers, and effacing old land-marks, could not be turned back. Nevertheless, until the revolution came, and swept down all before it, the probability that de Bernis would return to ministerial power in France dictated the policy of the Palais Royal, as also that of Versailles, towards him.

When the Duchesse de Chartres was travelling in Italy, Madame de Genlis was of her suite. The illustrious travellers made the palace of Cardinal de Bernis their home at Rome.

Madame de Genlis says :—"I never saw greater magnificence than that displayed by his Eminence, . . . even our attendants were superbly entertained—the table of our maids and valets was served as his own. He allotted a very fine suite of apartments to me ; and every morning after my breakfast an immense salver was brought into my room laden with ices, . . . which were renewed three or four times a day. The Cardinal sat every day at table between the Duchesse de Chartres and myself. . . . At these dinners everything was of the best, like the company; all distinguished foreigners then in Rome were invited to them. . . . As a host the Cardinal was inimitable. At Rome I bathed frequently ; and always in the evening ; the Cardinal was informed as soon as I was in the bath, when he came with his nephew (the Chevalier de Bernis), and chatted with me three quarters of an hour. . . . His innumerable anecdotes charmed me; he told me that at forty-three years of age he had no ecclesiastical dignity, no fortune, and many debts; and that at forty-five years of age his fortune was made.* He told me that when he was

* See Secret History of the Court of France. Vol. i., p. 175.

disgraced, he said to his friends, 'Do not advocate my wit or my talents, you would only thereby incur suspicion, and you would not serve me ; but you have the right to take the part of my character, and of my heart ;—defend them.' . . . I spoke to him of the morals of Rome ; he told me that Roman morals were not good among the great ; 'but to say the least,' added he, 'there is no atheism in that class in Rome, . . . and, when passions are *passées*, it returns sincerely to religion. . . . Amongst the people, morals are generally very pure in Rome, and adultery is the rarest thing in the world here ; but the men are violent in the extreme, which I attribute to the heat of the climate ; for murders are especially frequent in the month of August. Assassinations are committed, not from premeditated revenge, or for the purpose of robbery, but in fits of anger.' He further added, that it was remarkable that neither thefts nor murders were committed in Rome during the nights of summer, when the streets were not lighted. I asked him the reason of this, and he laughingly answered, that I was now asking a secret, but that he would tell it to me. . . . It was generally thought that disguised cardinals peram-

bulated the streets at night; and that as the people were persuaded, with reason, that the murder of a priest was the greatest of crimes, they attacked nobody, in the fear of killing a cardinal by mistake.' Cardinal de Bernis was at this time sixty-six years of age, in good health, and of a very fresh complexion; he had in him a mixture of good-nature and tact, of nobility and simplicity, which rendered him the most amiable man I ever knew. . . . He gave me a fine chaplet of *lapis lazuli*, which I since presented to my pupil (now Duc d'Orléans). Cardinal de Bernis held some magnificent *conversamenti* (assemblies of two or three thousand people), in honour of Madame la Duchesse de Chartres. He was called the king of Rome—which he was, by his magnificence, and by the consideration which he enjoyed there."

From this picture of his life at Rome, Cardinal de Bernis would have made an exchange for the worse, had he returned to Versailles, now that the King of France was kept in subjection by philosophical economists, and now that Protestants had ruled the King's exchequer, and had dictated his foreign policy.

In the Court where he had once been the King's prime minister, and the "Favourite's favourite," de Bernis would have felt himself a stranger. In this world it is seldom that either a man or a minister can retrace his steps.

Heroes, returning on leave of absence from America, were at this time in vogue at Versailles, because they had fought successfully in the cause of Republicanism. These heroes brought back with them not only the principles but the appearance of democracy. Courtiers of Versailles, who, a few years since, were clad in velvet and lace, now appeared in black coats, and in a costume assimilated to that of Quakers.

The glory of liberty in the New World had thrown the most brilliant court of the Old World into the shade. Even nobles who had grown old in the customs and costumes of the Court of Versailles were carried away by a love of novelty, and now rushed, for the sake of fashion, from one extreme to the other. For example: the Count de Lauraguais, the brother-in-law of Madame de Châteauroux, who, after the death of that unfortunate favourite, was still held in such estimation by Louis XV. that he was deputed to escort the first

wife of the present King's father (the daughter of Elizabeth Farnese), from Spain to Versailles; the Count de Lauraguais, the Admirable Crichton of the ancient régime at Versailles, even he was foremost in the adoption of modern and democratic innovations. Of all things in his life de Lauraguais prided himself most on having been the friend and associate of Voltaire; he had long professed to be an *esprit fort*, and to smile at time-worn traditions of Church and State; although he not only believed in mesmerism and magic, but even tried experiments, which, if they had succeeded, might have made him Cagliostro's rival.

De Lauraguais dedicated himself equally to worldly pleasures and to occult mysteries; and for the success of some of his chemical experiments, he was admitted a member of the French Academy of Sciences.* "It is impossible to compute how much money he spent upon diamonds, one-half of which he wasted on ungrateful *courtisanes*, and the other half he dissolved in chemical experiments." De Lauraguais prided himself, also, on his breed of horses. Gambling and horse-racing were

* The Count de Lauraguais was the first to introduce Nature upon the stage by abolishing the powder and buckram which had there, hitherto, been worn even by gods and goddesses.

much in favour at Versailles at this time of "the *Anglomanie*.* Old families were ruined by the passion for new excitements. The Prince de Guémenée, husband of the Dauphin's *gouvernante*, was a bankrupt soon after his wife's appointment to that new honour.

Madame de Guémenée was compelled by this misfortune to resign her office, into which the Queen speedily installed the Duchesse de Polignac. This appointment conferred on "Madame Jules" was distasteful to the people, to whom, as we have seen, the Queen's favourite was an object of irrational aversion. The Princesse de Lamballe, although deeply lamenting the consequences of it, allows that nothing could be more natural than this appointment, inasmuch as it was justified by the Queen's maternal sympathies. Madame de Polignac was a wise and tender mother to her own children; the Queen had sought and benefited by her advice in the education

* One of Silas Deane's letters from Paris to America (intercepted by England in June, 1781) says :—"The better sort of people here, both at court and in the city, are now become mad, I may say, after everything that is English; and even the ribbons worn by the ladies are for the most part from English looms. There is not a street in Paris but openly displays English goods for sale."

of her first child, the little Princess, now three years of age. A similarity of age, of disposition, of domestic interests, formed many links between her Majesty and Madame de Polignac. The people, murmuring at this appointment, forgot that their Queen—the foredoomed victim of anarchy—was a woman whom they would have deprived of such solace as was enjoyed by the meanest of her subjects—the double solace of friendship and of maternity.

But upon the 21st of January, 1782, the people of Paris, exhilarated by good news from America, forgot all their grievances against Government at home, when they beheld their Queen at a fête (given in honour of the Dauphin's birth) at the Hôtel de Ville. The morning of that day had been cloudy, but at noon the sun burst forth, and Marie Antoinette appeared in Paris, radiant with happiness and beauty. The Queen was not on this occasion attended by a numerous guard. She appealed to the love of her people as her best protection. In the same carriage with her Majesty were the King's sister, Madame Elizabeth; and the King's aunt, Madame Adelaïde; also, Madame la Duchesse de Bourbon; Mademoiselle de Condé;

Madame la Princesse de Conti, and Madame la Princesse de Lamballe. The Queen first drove to the churches of Notre Dame and St. Geneviève; and, after performing her devotions and rendering thanks for the birth of her son, she repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, which was newly decorated for her reception, and where her Majesty became the guest of the civic authorities of Paris. There she was joined by the King, the Princes of the blood, and the Dukes and Peers.

A grand banquet followed. In the arrangement of this banquet there had been some difficulty, owing to the jealousy of one part of the royal family against the other. M. le Duc d'Orléans had begged the King, in the name of the other princes of the blood, to excuse him and them from appearing at the Hôtel de Ville on this occasion, as etiquette forbade their being seated in public at the same table as his Majesty. On the other hand, the *haute noblesse* had declared that if, on this occasion, any difference was to be made in the reception of the Dukes and themselves, they, on their part, must decline to appear. Foreseeing, however, that those who were not present at this fête would be unpopular in Paris, the Dukes and the

Peers were all in their appointed places at the Hôtel de Ville when the time came, without having openly scandalised France by the exhibition of disunion in the royal family. The King's two brothers were the only men permitted to sit at his Majesty's table, although seventy-eight dishes were served upon it. The Dukes and Peers were also sumptuously served at their table, but they complained that, through the King hastily rising from his place before they had dined (etiquette forbidding them to remain seated after his Majesty had left table), they "had eaten nothing but butter and radishes." Nevertheless, it was announced, in the journals which record this fête, that, "for butcher's meat only, 102,000 francs were expended upon it." The illuminations in Paris were a failure upon this occasion; but for this disappointment the people were compensated by the exhibition of "'A Sugar-candy Course of History,'—devised and executed by the Sieur Duval, confectioner to the King, in the Rue des Lombards, where may be seen the French Fleet blocking the Bay of Chesapeake; the investiture of Yorktown and Gloucester by the French and American armies; the reduction of Lord Cornwallis; and

the English troops filing and laying down their arms. Here, also, may be tasted *bonbons au Général Washington*, and *à Lafayette*."

At Versailles the *Gardes du Corps* obtained leave of the King to give a grand popular ball to the Queen, in honour of the Dauphin's birth, in the Opera Hall (where the Court had supped on the occasion of the marriage of their present Majesties).* At this ball the Queen danced a minuet with a common guardsman selected by the corps, the King having previously granted formal permission that so great an honour should be conferred on so humble a subject.

The people were in the ascendant. The *poissardes* were not likely to be left behind. These ladies of the Paris fish-market assembled in great force at Versailles; and, as though to avenge themselves for having, at the hour of the dauphin's birth, been excluded from the interior of the Palace, to which custom had hitherto accorded them the privilege of entrance upon such occasions, they had composed an oration, which one of them spoke in presence of the Queen, and others sang songs at a fête which was given to them at Versailles.

* See APPENDIX A.

Whilst the King and Queen were thus endeavouring to conciliate the people, and whilst French nobles affected the garb of Puritanism, it is announced: "Dr. Franklin adopts civilization. He shows himself in even gallant societies; by which his good understanding with our government is manifested, as also his satisfaction at the happy news received from his own country. Lately the Doctor was at a ball given by Madame de Floissac, a banker's wife. Many young and pretty ladies were present, and each of them successively did homage to him, and embraced him, notwithstanding the spectacles which he always wears on his nose. For the rest the people are a little scandalised at the luxury which he tolerates in his grandsons: they have hoisted themselves up on *red heels*—a frivolous decoration, good at the Court of Versailles, but unworthy of the descendants of one of the chiefs of the Congress of Philadelphia."

To these young Americans the red heel of the aristocrat had the charm of novelty, as the Puritan's coat had for French nobles. In France, these superficial imitations were but the outer signs of serious changes—ripples on the surface of a deep

torrent, which would soon burst its bounds, and ruthlessly sweep all things away by its irresistible force.

Fortune favoured the arms of France. In the campaign of 1782, the garrison of Minorca, under General Murray, surrendered to the Duc de Crillon and Baron de Falkenhayen. The Cabinet of France now projected further conquests in America and the West Indies. Nine more ships of the line were fitted out at Brest, under the command of the Marquis de Vandreuil ; these were accompanied by a numerous fleet of transports, destined for the service of the French settlements in the East and West Indies. Ten ships of the line, escorted by the Count de Guichen, set out at the same time to join the Spanish fleet, then at Cadiz ; but these ships were dispersed on their way by an English fleet, under Admiral Kempenfeldt, whose manœuvres were seconded by the wind. Count de Guichen continued his course to Cadiz, although one thousand and sixty-two soldiers, and five hundred and forty-eight sailors, under his command, were taken by an inferior force by the way. De Vandreuil detached part of his squadron

to the Cape of Good Hope, and with the rest joined de Grasse at Martinique.

The Spaniards were still incessantly engaged in the siege of Gibraltar. The capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, and the reduction of Minorca, renewed French enthusiasm for war; although American Independence was now achieved, and the American war, therefore, virtually at an end.

The Count d'Artois and the Duc de Bourbon, whom, in 1778, we saw fighting a duel in the Bois de Boulogne, both joined the Spanish camp in 1782, that they might have a share in the glory for which there was a universal passion. Now that a Dauphin was born, the importance of the Count d'Artois, as father to an heir-presumptive to the throne, was diminished in France; it was, therefore, expedient for him at this time, when all men were seeking the "bubble reputation," to adopt the fashionable method of establishing a claim to popular favour. It was at this time that the young Count de Ségur, whose impatience to fight in America had long been restrained, at length set sail for the New World. His friend, the Vicomte

de Noailles, to whom he and Lafayette had confided their secret sympathy for the cause of liberty, at a time when to speak of the American rebellion at Versailles was almost equivalent to high treason, was now rewarded by his sovereign for his share in the siege of Yorktown, by being appointed to the command of a regiment at home. De Ségur was, therefore, to take the place of de Noailles in America, as second colonel of the Soissonnais regiment. Recruits were about being sent out to reinforce Rochambeau's army, and de Ségur was placed over two battalions of them at Brest. At length, in April, 1782, he embarked on board "The Glory," accompanied by the Duc de Lauzun (who had been in France on a short leave of absence from America), by the Prince de Broglie (son of the Marshal), by the Baron de Montesquieu (grandson of the author, whose *Esprit des Loix* had long been deeply studied in America), by the Count de Loménie (afterwards a victim of the French Revolution), by the Chevalier Alexandre de Lameth (afterwards justly celebrated and proscribed), by young de Fleury, &c. Adverse winds, and a variety of other obstacles, kept "The Glory" beating for some time about the coasts and seas of

Southern Europe, much to the discomfiture of the young French nobles, who were impatient to cross the Atlantic. At last they were obliged to put in at the Azores, which islands bade fair to become a modern Capua to these champions of the American Republic.

"In the midst of an immense sea," says de Ségur, "lies this isolated Archipelago. From out of the ocean rise to the heavens verdant and tranquil amphitheatres, adorned by perpetual spring, though threatened by hurricanes, by submarine volcanoes, and by earthquakes.

"The flowers of Europe, the fruits of America, Africa, and Asia, are here. Jasmine, orange-blossom, laurel, acacias, and roses embalm the air with their perfumes ; and that air is so pure that no vermin can live in it . . . Where the fury of the sea subsides, the city of Angra is to be seen, rearing itself majestically . . . When we first saw the Isle of Terceira from afar, it seemed but a huge black mountain ; but as we approached Angra, an agreeable scene opened before us . . . A magnificent amphitheatre, covered with odoriferous woods, varied in their forms as in their colours. The Government residence of this Archipelago is the city

of Angra I repaired to the French consulate, but when I had returned to my frigate, fatigued by my journey, I did not feel inclined to go on shore again at Terceira . . . The Duc de Lauzun made me change my mind.

“‘I see,’ said he, ‘that thou hast not been amused, but it is thine own fault. . . . The French Consul is a good and simple bourgeois . . . who offers his guest only water too fresh from his wells. . . . I have found better means of driving away *ennui* . . . Come with me . . . Thou shalt soon know that at Terceira there is good cheer, a hearty welcome, a gay host . . . lively and pretty women, complaisant nuns, coquettish and tender convent boarders, and a bishop who dances the *Fandango*.’ . . . ‘And who,’ said I, ‘is this rare man who has suddenly shown such active and obliging friendship for thee?’ ‘It is the Consul of England,’ said he. ‘Ah!’ exclaimed I . . . ‘How? Hast thou forgotten that we are at war with the English?’ ‘Listen,’ said he; ‘be not rash in thy condemnation. My host is in truth Consul of England—our enemy—but he is a pluralist, for he is at the same time Consul of Spain—our ally; and, to complete the singularity of the case, he is

neither Englishman nor Spaniard, but a French Provençal." . . . 'Ah!' said I, 'then I have no further objection to make . . . Let us go to the house of this man who wears so many coats, and plays so many parts . . . Thrice happy be the pacific isle of Terceira, which, in the midst of the fearful storms of war in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, hears but the murmur of waves, the sound of guitars, the songs of birds, and gathers into its breast two belligerent powers; not only living on good terms with each other, but embodied in one and the same person, who probably does the business of both with advantage.' We started, then—Lauzun, de Broglie, de Fleury, and myself . . . and were introduced to the English Consul, who kept all his promises; for he gave us excellent tea, very good porter, exquisite suppers, a very amiable female society and as we were curious to see the Fandango (that dance celebrated for its grave indecency and melancholy voluptuousness), a young Portuguese, coadjutor of the Bishop of Angra, had the complaisance, without much persuasion, to dance it. This was not all; the obliging Consul conducted us the next morning to a convent, where we found indulgent nuns and

very pretty boarders . . . the sight of them consoled us for the two formidable grates which separated the parlour where we were from the interior of the convent. The Mother Abbess, followed by her young flock, gravely arrived behind the grate; she was a living representation, in costume, face, and figure, of the portraits of Abbesses, of the thirteenth century; there was nothing wanting to complete this resemblance, not even the crosier, which she carried majestically in her hand. The young flock was dark-eyed, dark-haired; beautiful, though somewhat swarthy. After the first compliments, and when the ladies were seated, our encouraging Consul told us that, according to Portuguese custom (and a strange custom it was), we might, by the favour of the grates, show ourselves as gallant as we chose to the young flock, notwithstanding the presence of Madame the Abbess, with her crosier; because, from all time, devotion and gallantry reigned harmoniously together in the cloisters of chivalric Portugal . . . Each of us then chose the object who had most attracted his observation . . . and thus we promptly spoke of love, but very innocently and platonically—thanks to the intervention of the two grates, and the presence of Madame the Abbess . . .

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Our mistresses being ignorant of the French language, and we not knowing a word of the Portuguese tongue, it must seem strange that we could reciprocally understand each other, but nothing was impossible to our officious Consul; he undertook the part of interpreter, and thus smoothed the difficulties of a first interview. . . . Soon we tried a little Portuguese from the little Italian that we knew. This attempt succeeded . . . Handkerchiefs and flowers flew rapidly from one side of the grate to the other; kisses were wafted (not without fear of appearing too rash to Madame the Abbess). But nothing disturbed her gravity, nor scared her indulgence . . . At length this good Abbess joined in the conversation; and perceiving that our pleasure at this was mingled with some little surprise, she told us (by the interposition of the Consul), that 'pure love is agreeable to heaven.' . . . On the other hand, she continued, 'gallantry, honoured in old times, cannot but be extremely useful to young warriors. It inspires them with the spirit of chivalry; it excites them to deserve, by brave deeds, those whom they love. . . . Thus, re-animated by such counsels, my ardour was redoubled for this gallant game . . . But variety is the

soul of pleasure ; . . . so we now hazarded *billets doux*. These were initiated by the complaisant Consul. The good Abbess, having read them, without letting go either her crosier or her dignity, smilingly permitted the free circulation of these tender epistles, and of the answers they drew forth.

“ . . . I ventured upon a song, and the Prince de Broglie followed my example. . . . The day declined ; Madame the Abbess gave the signal for retreat. A second *rendezvous* was agreed upon for the next day. . . . Touching adieux were made. Arriving at the convent next day, we found the grate decked by flowers of every sort, and our ladies a thousand times more amiable than they were the evening before. They entertained us with music. The mistresses of the Prince de Broglie and the Duc de Lauzun sang extremely tender duets, accompanying themselves upon the guitar. During this time the Vicomte de Fleury’s mistress and mine danced with us. Upon either side of the miserable grate we figured ; but, perhaps, the most amusing part of this performance was to see Madame the Abbess beating time with her crosier. . . . In love as in ambition, it is difficult to stop

one's self. We asked for some love-gifts; and we received not only more tender notes, but locks of hair and scapularies, which we wore upon our hearts. In our turn we sent rings, hair; and Lauzun and de Fleury gave their own portraits, which (by I do not know what accident) had been returned to them at the moment of their departure from France. . . . Our Platonic loves of the parlour created, it is said, some disquietude in the city;—brothers, uncles, and gallants alarmed themselves. . . . The signal of our departure was given; a cannon fired off three times recalled us on board our ship, and we had only time to say adieu to our belles, who were inconsolable. . . . The parlour grates were saddened by 'flowers of regret.' . . . The good Abbess had a tear in her eye; I think even that for the first time she let fall her crosier."

This adventure did not increase the reverence of these young Frenchmen—disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot—for church government. "If nature," observes de Ségur, "has made of Terceira a terrestrial paradise, . . . the monks—an ignorant administration and arbitrary power—have perverted it into a poor, sad, and wearisome abode. . . . There are six or seven hundred monks

and nuns to ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. . . . Devotion is mingled with libertinism, in a way as indecent as ridiculous. . . . There are inquisitors in this colony; but I was assured that they burn nobody, but content themselves by imprisoning sinners, and confiscating their goods!"

Speaking of the Inquisition and ignorant administration, de Ségur predicted that Spain would not live long on good terms with her colonies. In Spanish America he found the works of Rousseau concealed, as his greatest treasure, under the beam of a physician's house.

Philosophy, under a Quaker's garb, met Frenchmen in Philadelphia. A Quaker there said to the brave and accomplished Chevalier de Chastellux, "Friend, I know that thou art a man of letters, and a member of the French Academy. Men of letters have written many good things; they have attacked errors, prejudices, and, above all, intolerance; but why do they not labour to disgust men with war, and to make men live as friends and brothers?"

De Ségur joined his regiment, after presenting himself to the Comte de Rochambeau, who re-

ceived him as a son, and introduced him to General Washington. De Ségur was tenderly regarded by de Rochambeau, the latter having been companion in arms under Marshal Saxe, with the young Count's father, in the Flanders campaign against the house of Austria, in the middle of the century. It was in commanding the same regiment to which the young Count was now appointed in America, that his father (at Rocoux) was shot by a ball in his breast, and that (at Laffeldt) his arm was fractured. It was at Laffeldt, when, maimed and wounded, the elder de Ségur still led on his troops to victory, that Louis XV., who was present, declared himself to be the king of heroes; and that Voltaire, echoing the King's words, had affirmed that "heroes who are thus willing to die for God and the King, deserve to be immortal." This regiment, now called "de Soissonnais," was then called the regiment "de Ségur."

Old names, like old customs, were changed at this epoch; and ancient mottoes, inherited by French heroes of the American rebellion, were strangely perverted in such a cause: "*Nous descendons des Rois.*" "*Dieu ayde au premier baron*

Chrestien." "*Aide Dieu au Chrestien Levis.*" "*Pro Rege et Deo.*" *

These were some of the devices which had hitherto been the war-cries of France, whilst shining on the shields of those who had died rather than be conquered in the cause of their God, their King, and their country.

When some of the descendants of those who had conquered or died for God and the King first arrived in the New World, to become leaders of rebellion, they were placed in command of rustic troops and undisciplined militia-men, whose only military accoutrement was a cap upon which was written "*Liberty.*"† French heroes in America now dropped their ancient heraldic badges; and, writing to their friends at Versailles, sealed their letters with the badge of the cap of liberty, encircled by the thirteen stars of America. When this device appeared at Versailles, the Queen of France first murmured the words which she often afterwards had occasion bitterly to repeat—" *La noblesse nous perdra.*"

When Marie Antoinette said those words, it

* Héraldique. Bib. Imp. Les devises Anciennes.

† Mems. de Ségur, tome i., p. 354.

was a triumph to the King's aunts, who had warned her in vain, during the first years of her marriage, against her own infringements on the etiquette and customs of the Court over which she was called to rule. When Marie Antoinette uttered those words, it was a grief to the Princesse de Lamballe, who, from far different and higher motives to those which actuated the King's aunts, had advised the Queen as they did upon this point, although her Majesty had not heeded her predictions. The Austrian Queen of France had—by adopting—sanctioned the simplicity of costume and customs advocated by Rousseau, the Genevese republican. Elsewhere, in this narrative, we have seen French heroes fighting each other because a French coquette had stuck on her black beauty-spots so as to excite their jealousy when admitted to her toilette. De Ségur, imbued with the new taste for Puritanism before he left Versailles, was now in America enchanted by a Quakeress. His picture of this goddess of the New World is a contrast to that of the Old World divinity,* already contemplated.

* Chapter iii., vol. i., of this narrative. "Toilette of a French Belle of the eighteenth century."

"A being who seemed more nymph than woman! Never were so many graces, so much elegance, so much decency, united. It was Polly Leiton, the daughter of my grave *Trembleur*. Her robe was white as she was; the muslin of her ample neckerchief, the envious cambric which scarcely allowed me to perceive her fair hair—in short, the simple attire of a pious virgin—vainly strove to veil from us the most exquisite form, and to conceal from us the most seductive charms. Her eyes seemed to reflect, like two mirrors, the gentleness of a pure and tender soul. She received us with a *naïveté* which delighted me, and the 'thou' and 'thee,' which her sect prescribes, gave to our new acquaintance an air of old friendship. I doubt whether any *chef-d'œuvre* of art could eclipse this '*chef d'œuvre* of nature'—that is the name which the Prince de Broglie gave to her. In our conversation she astonished me by the original candour of her questions.

"'Thou hast not then, in Europe,' said she, 'either wife or children, since thou quittest thy country to follow this ugly trade of war?'

"'But it is for your interests,' said I, 'that I leave all that is dear to me; and it is to defend

your liberty that I come to fight against the English.'

" 'The English,' said she, 'have done thee no harm; and our liberty, what is that to thee? Thou art wrong to interfere in the affairs of others, unless it be to heal differences, and to prevent the shedding of blood.'

" 'But,' replied I, 'my King has ordered me to carry his arms hither against your enemies and his.'

" 'Then,' said she, 'thy King hath commanded thee to do an unjust and an inhuman thing, contrary to that which thy God hath commanded. Thou oughtest to obey thy God, and to disobey thy King; for he is King that he may save, and not that he may destroy. I am very sure that thy wife, if she have a good heart, is of the same opinion as I am.'

"And what could I answer to this angel?" asks De Ségur "In truth I was tempted to believe that she was one. Certain it is, that had I not been married and happy, I should, by coming to defend the liberty of the Americans, have lost mine at the feet of Polly Leiton."

Liberty was already achieved when de Ségur

reached America ; but war was still maintained in the East with ardour, and the coasts of Coromandel were stained with the blood of the contending powers. Suffrein, the French commander, had had hopes of crushing the war in the East by one decisive blow ; but the English, who penetrated his design of disembarking his land forces to support Hyder Ali, opposed it ; and naval combats ensued between the French and English fleets ; in which combats fortune, partially, and the wind once entirely, favoured the French.

The war on land raged furiously. A small band of Frenchmen, under the command of Lally, gave vigour to the operations of Hyder Ali. Tippoo Saib (the son of Hyder), who inherited his daring spirit, joined his troops to those of Lally, and attacked a British detachment under Colonel Braithwaite (encamped for the protection of Tanjore and the neighbouring provinces), consisting of 2,000 infantry, thirteen field-pieces, and 250 cavalry. The Eastern cavalry amounted to 20,000 ; but notwithstanding this overwhelming number, and the traditional terror of "Hyder's horsemen," the English repulsed them for two successive days. On the third day the French—to the number of

400—led on by Lally himself, charged the English troops. But Lally was brave as he was humane. He refused to pursue a victory over those who had exhibited such undaunted courage under circumstances that had seemed hopeless. He issued orders to his troops to put a stop to the carnage; and himself incurred great personal danger in restraining the native cavalry from further pursuing their advantage. Lally, not contented with this, prevailed on Tippoo Saib to commit the prisoners to his care, and endeavoured to soothe their misfortunes by every mark of tenderness and respect. Indeed, it cannot escape observation that, during the whole course of this war, the French and English did not less vie with each other in acts of generous compassion than in deeds of daring valour. It began to be desired that the time should arrive when the spirit of emulation among kingdoms should have *only* virtue for its object.*

At Gibraltar, French and Spanish blood and treasure were wasted. The winds there again protected the English. An attempt to starve out the garrison failed. The last hope of the besiegers

* Gifford's History of France, vol. v., p. 76.

was in "floating batteries," devised by the Chevalier d'Arcon. But these batteries were burnt to the water's edge by a scorching torrent of hot balls and shells poured down upon them by the garrison. In a few hours all the floating batteries were in flames. It was impossible for man to live in the awful conflagration. Frenchmen and Spaniards, to save themselves from the certain death of fire, flung themselves into the sea, where the hot balls still reached them. Some men were drowned, some were saved by British seamen, who thus risked their own lives to save the lives of their enemies. At Gibraltar there was again a noble rivalry between the French and English in deeds of mercy as in deeds of valour. The *Gazette de France* records:—"General Elliott, the Governor of Gibraltar, having sent a flag of parley to settle the exchange of prisoners in his hands, mentioned to our general, 'that he would take particular care of the wounded, and that he had visited the hospital himself, for the purpose of seeing his orders properly executed.' The Duc de Crillon (who is notorious for his merciful treatment of the English whom he made prisoners at Minorca) answered: 'The success of arms is very uncertain; I had ma-

chines allotted to me for making my attack against you, which were not at all agreeable to me : they ought to have been much better to oppose a General of your abilities, but I was forced to obey. I return you, in the name of the two courts by whose command I am honoured, a thousand thanks for the care you have taken of our officers. I leave our sick and wounded soldiers to your generosity, and you may be assured of our kind treatment of yours.' The *English Gazette* records, that when General Eliott saw the floating batteries anchor close beneath the fire of the enemy, he said to the officers of the garrison, " See, my friends, to what danger obedience exposes itself ; the valour and intrepidity of our enemies will be of no service to them ; perhaps they are conscious of this themselves ; yet, though they may be convinced of the massacre that awaits them, they do not advance the more slowly. Let their obedience animate yours, and I will pledge myself that your endeavours will be successful, and that the victory will be ours."

Success also eventually attended the English arms in the East Indies. Sir Eyre Coote restored the Company's ascendancy, and defeated Hyder

Ali. This was some compensation for British losses in America. In the West Indies Admiral Rodney gained a victory over Count de Grasse, that helped to cripple the French Navy, the growth and strength of which had, four years before, taken England by surprise, when it sailed into the English Channel. The ministry of England was still resolved to carry on the contest, to persevere in what was now called "a war of posts." But the proposal was untenable; rebellion in America had helped (in 1780) to excite insurrection in London. We have seen how the Reverend Mr. Cole, of Cambridge; the gossip and political opponent of Horace Walpole, had congratulated the King, the Church, the State, and himself, on the adherence of Roman Catholics in England to the cause of the Crown. Everybody knows the story of the Gordon riots; how an immense multitude assembled in St. George's Fields, to petition for a repeal of the laws that had been passed in favour of the Roman Catholics; and how that multitude proceeded to the entrances of the House of Commons; how Lord George Gordon came forth, and, in a violent harangue, informed the people that their petition had

been rejected ; and how the mob, in consequence, proceeded at once to destroy Roman Catholic places of worship, to burn the prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, and the King's Bench, and even to threaten the Bank. After the week during which the rioters were absolute masters of the metropolis, and when hundreds of the people had been killed or mortally wounded by the soldiers who were called out to quell the riots, Horace Walpole chuckled, because he had been a truer prophet than his Tory friend, "the Reverend Mr. Cole." On the motion of Horace Walpole's other friend, General Conway, the House of Commons voted (1782), "that whoever advised his Majesty to the continuation of the American war should be considered as a public enemy." Upon this Lord North resigned. A new ministry was formed, under the auspices of Mr. Fox and the Marquis of Rockingham, and negotiations for peace were immediately commenced with the belligerent powers.

In the meanwhile, Lafayette had once more returned to France. Again did Versailles and Paris vie with each other in doing homage to him.

In 1782, at the Opera of Paris, a scene occurred

in honour of Lafayette—the first among Frenchmen to fight for liberty—which scene faintly reflected that we have already witnessed there in honour of Voltaire, the first among philosophers to stimulate a love for liberty. *Iphigénie en Aulide* was represented the night that Lafayette first appeared at the Opera of Paris, after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. Lafayette was seated far back in his box, but it was known that he was present. When the chorus sang “Achilles is crowned by the hands of Victory,” the whole audience rose to applaud Lafayette. The principal actress that night (Mademoiselle Torlay), encouraged by this applause, seized a crown of laurel, and presented it to Lafayette; whereupon the clapping of hands was redoubled, and “Vive Lafayette!” was heard. “*Vive la Liberté!*” Lafayette bowed in acknowledgment: he had just been made Marshal by the King, who, a few years before, had proscribed him for his flight to America. Honours showered down upon Lafayette in Court and Capital; these honours were jealously regarded by such of his contemporaries as had been compelled to remain inert at Versailles, while he had been fighting in America. “We could have done

as Lafayette has done," said they; "had we had the same opportunities." Soon afterwards there appeared in all the French newspapers (except the *Gazette de France*) seditious words which Lafayette had uttered in presence of Congress, before leaving America, and treasonable words, which, since his arrival in France, he had written to his friends in America: "May this revolution serve as a lesson to oppressors, and as an example to the oppressed! I have always thought a King useless, to say the least;—here, he makes but a very poor figure."

In the summer of 1782, the son of the Empress Catherine of Russia, and his wife, visited France; travelling under the title of "M. le Comte and Madame la Comtesse du Nord."

The Princesse de Lamballe declares that Queen Marie Antoinette had an antipathy to Catherine of Russia. Indeed, it was scarcely possible for two women to be more opposed by nature than were these contemporaries.* Marie Antoinette had had a vague dread of receiving the Russian Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess at Versailles; but her dread quickly changed into sympathy for them,

* *Mems. de Lamballe*, tome i., p. 279.

when the Grand-Duke declared that he only travelled to save his life, which was menaced in his own country by his own mother. The Queen of France had begun to tremble at the growing signs of democracy in her own kingdom, but she shuddered at the tales of absolute Government told to her by these illustrious fugitives. The Grand-Duchess was a handsome and accomplished woman, remarkable for her sound common-sense. Her father, the Duke of Würtemberg, had taken especial care, says the *Princesse de Lamballe*, to bring up his children in indifference as to all forms of divine worship, believing that any exclusive religious prejudices would be a hindrance to them in this world, as princes who might have to rule over other countries than their own.

Rumours of the heterodoxy of the Grand-Duchess had increased the reluctance of *Marie Antoinette* to receiving her at Versailles; but her Majesty soon learned to esteem both her Russian guests. However stern and capricious may have been the character of Catherine's unfortunate son, "Mad Paul," as Emperor of Russia in after years, he professed great philanthropy, and a desire for

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the amelioration of human suffering, during his visit to France in 1782. He personally visited the public hospitals, in which, during the last few years, great reforms had been effected ; the united results of the King's benevolence, of Necker's wealth, and of Franklin's theories.

"Ah!" cried the Grand-Duke Paul, on one of these visits, "the further the great are removed by fate from human miseries, the nearer they ought to approach them by free-will, that they may learn for themselves what it is they are called upon to succour in others."

And the Grand-Duke Paul, while thus moralizing, had wit enough to rebuke flattery, and to refuse to shine by a borrowed light. He visited the Sorbonne, where a learned doctor pointed out to him the tomb of Cardinal de Richelieu, reminding him at the same moment of these words of his ancestor, "the Great Czar," concerning that minister: "Oh! great man! Why art thou not still alive? I would give thee half my kingdom if thou couldst but teach me how to govern the other half!"

"Ah, sir!" said Prince Paul to the Doctor, "and having got all he could out of the Cardinal,

‘the Great Czar’ would soon have reclaimed his gift.”

The Queen initiated the Grand-Duchess into the courtesies of Versailles. Her Majesty having heard that the Grand-Duchess was short-sighted, presented her with a fan, set with diamonds, in which fan an eye-glass was inserted. “Madame,” said the Queen, “I am told that we share the same inconvenience; will you try”—placing the fan in her hand—“if this will remedy it?” The Grand-Duchess fanned herself; looked through the eye-glass, and declared that she had never seen so well in her life. “I beg you to keep the fan,” said the Queen. “Ay, willingly,” answered the Grand-Duchess, “because it enables me to behold your Majesty.”

And at this time, the sight of the Queen was pleasant even to the people of Paris. The issue of the American war had insured to Louis XVI. and to Marie Antoinette a brief popularity; and this popularity was rather increased than decreased when her Majesty appeared in public with the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess of Russia, albeit they were the representatives of absolute power, for it was notorious in Paris that the Empress Cathe-

rine had purchased Voltaire's library. Other honours, before mentioned, which were known in Paris to have been rendered by the *Autocrate* to Voltaire, caused her son to be welcome there, even at a time when "Liberty" was the popular cry, and when the popular fêtes, at which the Queen appeared with the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess of Russia, were those in celebration of the success of French arms in the cause of liberty. At these fêtes, French soldiers, who had fought for liberty, were embraced and applauded by their countrymen.

The interdict against the sale of Voltaire's works had lately fallen into neglect in Paris. Voltaire's plays were beginning again to be acted at the theatres of Paris. It was unsafe for the Government of France any longer to oppose the people in aught that concerned publications which were the sources of popular opinion. Not long since, Diderot's work on Seneca had been condemned by Church and State authority; whereupon Diderot had taken his revenge, and was now importing, from the press of Amsterdam, "Essays on the Reigns of Claudius and Nero, and upon the Morals and Writings of Seneca, which may serve

as an introduction to the reading of Philosophy." These essays were distillations of the work to which the interdict gave peculiar and popular interest. The Confessions of Rousseau were now also in course of publication.*

The Empress of Russia had recently bought Diderot's library, as she had bought Voltaire's. Diderot himself was welcome at St. Petersburg. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the son of this northern potentate, who lavished fabulous sums on French books of philosophy—which the French Government had prohibited—who allured French philosophers to her court when they were

* Upon the 12th of May, 1782, a decree was issued (which on the 14th was registered by Parliament), by which the King enjoined all curates and vicars simply to receive and to register the declarations of those who should present children for baptism, without any clauses of their own insertion whatever; and without interrogation concerning such declarations. The object of this decree was to restrain the fanatical zeal of the clergy, who threw doubts on the legitimacy of the children of Protestants, and who placed those suspected as such under restrictions, and in an equivocal position. Another decree of government, without exactly legalising the condition of Protestants in France, had already recognised the validity of Protestant marriages.—(The importance and significance of these decrees can be only estimated by comparison with the fearful liabilities to which, until the reign of Louis XVI., Protestants were subject in France.)—Arrêts de Versailles, 1782.

cast out from Versailles, should be welcome to the French people, who were now delighted in proving that the philosophy of liberty was practical.* Upon the day when Catherine's son and his wife arrived in Paris, a dense crowd of people had assembled on the Boulevards to welcome them. As soon as they appeared, cries of "Vive M. le Comte du Nord! Vive Madame la Comtesse du Nord!" were reiterated. Their horses were stopped by the people; and the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess let down the windows of their carriage so as to be seen by the crowd, and to acknowledge its salutations. Again cries of "Vive M. le Comte et Madame la Comtesse du Nord," broke forth; whereupon Paul replied: "Brave Frenchmen! I am deeply touched by the reception that you give me, and I shall never forget it."

The personal appearance of these illustrious travellers was such as favourably to impress the French. The Orléans party, ever on the alert for

* Diderot died July 2nd, 1784. His name is immortalised as one of the founders of the *Encyclopédie*. When Catherine of Russia, offended at the destructive tendency of some of his works, expelled him from her dominions, Diderot remarked that, although the Northern *autocrate* was an *esprit fort*, enslaved Russians were still too barbarous for philosophy.

popular favour, made efforts to share that bestowed on the Russian Prince and Princess. M. le Duc d'Orléans caused a grand supper to be prepared (for strawberries only he expended 850 livres); to which he invited the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess. But M. le Comte du Nord said that he was ill, and therefore could not come to the supper which M. le Duc d'Orléans had prepared for him; and Madame la Comtesse du Nord set a grand example of Russian domesticity to Paris, by declaring that, as her husband was ill, she could not possibly leave him. M. le Duc d'Orléans was sorely vexed at these excuses, and Madame de Montesson (his unacknowledged wife) was wrathful, because it was whispered that the Russian Prince and Princess thought it derogatory for them to sit at the same table with her. Politically, the Russian Prince and Princess wished to conciliate Versailles; politically, therefore, they found it incumbent on them to ice their courtesy towards the Palais Royal.

The feuds that separated the one branch of the royal family from the other were notorious. Even the gentle Princesse de Lamballe was intolerant of Madame de Genlis; the Queen was not more merciful towards the *gouvernante* of the Palais

Royal. When the Duchesse de Chartres made her visit of ceremonious congratulation to the Queen, after the Dauphin's birth, she begged her Majesty to excuse the absence of Madame de Genlis, on the plea of illness.

"The notoriety of Madame de Genlis," said the Queen to the Duchesse, "may cause her absence to be remarked; but she is not of sufficient consequence to need its being excused."

The brief revulsion of popular enthusiasm for the King and Queen of France in 1782, disconcerted the adherents of the Palais Royal. This enthusiasm rejoiced the Queen, notwithstanding the simultaneous re-appearance of her evil genius, de Rohan, and it survived the defeat of the Count de Grasse by Admiral Rodney, (and the consequent failure of the united attempt of France and Spain, which had been directed against Jamaica).

In this engagement between de Grasse and Rodney, the French sustained a total defeat; the "Ville de Paris," of 110 guns, commanded by the Count de Grasse himself, with four other ships, were compelled to strike their colours to the British flag. The Marquis de Vaudreuil collected part of

the scattered French fleet, and, with nineteen sail of the line, escaped to Martinique ; but the Count de Grasse, who had shown the most intrepid courage during this disastrous engagement, was taken prisoner by the English, and conveyed to London.

The French and English officers vied with each other at this time in demonstrations of respect to a defeated enemy ; by their conduct to each other during the American war, both France and England proved themselves great enough to be worthy friends or foes.

But the conduct of the people of London towards Lord Cornwallis, the defeated champion of England, was more magnanimous than was the conduct of Paris towards the Count de Grasse, the defeated champion of France. Generosity to a vanquished stranger is a less rare exhibition of virtue, than is justice done to unsuccessful merit by its own country or kindred. Lord Cornwallis, on his return to England, after the capitulation of Yorktown, was enthusiastically received by the English people ; deputations and addresses met him on his way to London ; and at Exeter he was carried to the Mayor's resi-

dence on men's shoulders, whilst vast crowds of people loudly cheered him. Immediately on his arrival in London, his Lordship, who was related to the Archbishop of Canterbury, went to Lambeth Palace. Numerous visitors of all classes eagerly did homage to Lord Cornwallis there. A great number of the nobility declared they felt honoured in dining with him ; and the King's ministers personally waited on him.*

During the same year, the Count de Grasse was honourably received in England, where deep respect was paid to his courage and to his misfortunes ; but the public journals of Paris, in 1782, abound with *quolibets*, cruel jokes upon his defeat, and puns upon his name. For example : "It is said, that had it not been for the action of Grasse (*de graces*), we should have had another *Te Deum* ; and that upon the new ship 'Ville de Paris,' which the municipal corporation is about to present to the King, a device is to be inscribed, viz.:—'*Vaincre ou Mourir, point de grace*' (*de Grasse*)."

The device adopted by the new ship (the "City of Paris") was a prophecy fulfilled in the Revolu-

* Political Journal, year 1782.

tion, when the King of France bitterly repeated, "*Point de grace.*"

In 1783, Count d'Estaing (who had also had his enemies at home), was appointed to the command of a united French and Spanish squadron, lying ready for embarkation before Cadiz. Lafayette, with eight thousand men, whom he had brought from Brest, was also upon the point of embarking with the grand combined expedition of the Bourbon forces against English possessions, when, in September, 1783, news arrived at Cadiz that the American Commissioners at Paris had signed the peace.*

* In the French Revolution, d'Estaing and Lafayette were again connected by especial ties in a common cause—that of saving the Queen. Though constitutional by principle, d'Estaing was devoted to the King and Queen. Upon the 5th of October, 1789, he was entrusted with the municipal order to protect Louis XVI. in his retreat; it is since well known that he tried to provide the King with means of flight. D'Estaing conjured the Queen to sanction an avowed constitutional government, and declared to her that he and Lafayette were bound together to save her. At the fête of the Federation, in 1792, d'Estaing wore the uniform of the National Guard, and the order of the *Saint Esprit* upon his breast. The King asked him why he did not appear as Vice-Admiral. "Because," he answered, "the Marine desires the people's friendship." In the process against the Queen, d'Estaing presented himself as one of her Majesty's accusers, that he might gain a hearing;

Upon the 19th of March, 1783, Dr. Franklin had anticipated the Peace Treaty by causing a medal to be struck in Paris, representing the Independence of the United States. This medal represents Hercules, in his cradle, strangling two serpents (beneath which are inscribed the dates 1777 and 1781, the epochs of the capitulations of Burgoyne and Cornwallis). A leopard is about to spring upon the infant Hercules, but is repulsed by France, who, under the figure of Minerva, confronts the leopard with her shield, on which are three fleur-de-lis. On the other side of the medal is Liberty, under the emblem of a beautiful woman, and around this figure is inscribed—“*Libertas Americana.*”

The war was ended by the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles, upon the 3rd September, 1783, by which treaty France enjoyed the sterile satisfaction of having revenged herself for the loss of Canada, by despoiling Great Britain of her

having secured which, he deposed as favourably as possible to her cause, and seized the opportunity of dilating upon the lovely character of Marie Antoinette. Traded in his turn before the revolutionary tribunal, d'Estaing said: “Send my head to England, and she will pay you well for it.”

American colonies ; and hoped that, by the erection of a new and independent power across the Atlantic, she had secured for herself a grateful ally.

Dr. Franklin was one of those who signed the Peace Treaty. Upon that occasion he appeared in the suit he had worn when he was arraigned before the Privy Council of England, nearly nine years before. Dr. Franklin had kept the vow he had made to Dr. Priestley upon the threshold of the Privy Council Chamber, "I will never again put on the clothes I now wear, until I have received satisfaction for the injuries I now sustain.*

* Dr. Franklin still lingered in France after the Peace Treaty was signed. In an autograph letter, dated Passy, Aug. 10th, 1784, to his son, he says :—

"I am glad to find that you desire to revive the affectionate intercourse that formerly existed between us. It will be very agreeable to me. Indeed, nothing has ever hurt me so much, and affected me with such sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age by my only son ; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms against me in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune, and life were all at stake. You conceived, you say, your duty to your king, and regard for your country, required this. I ought not to blame you for differing in sentiments with me in public affairs. We are men ; all subject to errors. Our opinions are not in our own power ; they are formed and governed by circumstances that are often as inexplicable as they are irresistible . . . tho' there are natural duties which precede political ones, and cannot be extinguished by them. This is a disagreeable subject ; I drop it. . . . I did

Whatever satisfaction Dr. Franklin may have derived from his own revenge, the benefits which France obtained from her share in the war to which he had incited her, were disproportioned to the blood, and to the four hundred millions of money which it had cost her.

intend returning this year, but the Congress, instead of giving me leave to do so, have sent me another commission, which will keep me here at least a year longer; and perhaps I may then be too feeble to bear the voyage. I am here among a people that love and respect me; a most amiable nation to live with, and perhaps I may conclude to die among them; for my friends in America are dying off one after another, and I have been so long abroad, that I should be almost a stranger in my own country. I should be glad to see you when convenient; but would not have you come here at present. . . . I send your son over to you, to pay his duty to you. You will find him much improved. He is greatly esteemed and beloved in this country, and will make his way anywhere. . . . And I trust that you will prudently avoid introducing him into company that it may be improper for him to be seen with.—Your affectionate father,

"B. FRANKLIN." *

Upon the 28th of July, 1785, Dr. Franklin embarked at Havre for America, having been conveyed to Havre in one of the Queen's litters, as, being ill of the stone, he could not bear the motion of a carriage. Upon the 14th of September he reached Philadelphia, where he was received with acclamations, and was twice chosen President of the Assembly of Philadelphia. He represented that state at the celebrated Convention of 1787, when the Federal constitution was re-

But public opinion in France was satisfied for the moment, because it was believed there that England was weakened; that France had regained her ascendancy over the seas and in Europe; that she had played a glorious part as the ally of the United States, of Holland, of Spain, as the defender of liberty, and the protector of the rights of man.

vised; but he soon afterwards retired from public affairs—a martyr to the malady already named. He bore his sufferings patiently, and was resigned to die. He died April 17th, 1790. At twenty-three years of age he had written his own epitaph:—

“Here lies
Nourishment for the worms,
The body of Benjamin Franklin, Printer;
Like the cover of an old book of which the leaves are torn out,
Of which
The binding is worn; but the
Work will not be lost, for it will re-appear—so it is believed—
In a new edition, revised and corrected
By the Author.”

A general mourning for Dr. Franklin was ordered through all the States of the Confederation, and in France the Assembly decreed (upon the proposition of Mirabeau), that its members should wear black for three months, as a testimonial of respect for his memory. In Dr. Franklin's will is the following bequest:—

“I leave to General George Washington, my friend, and the friend of humanity, the stick of a wild apple-tree which I used to walk with. Were this walking-stick a sceptre, it would be equally suitable to him.”

When M. le Comte de Rochambeau arrived in France, his road to Versailles was one of continual triumph. The young King gave this veteran General a distinguished reception, and the Queen delighted in showering down honours upon him. He was invested with the *Cordon bleu*—the highest token of royal favour—and with the command of Picardy. Louis XVI. also presented him with two pictures; one representing the siege of Yorktown, and the other the filing of the English garrison between the French and American armies. Congress sent two pieces of cannon to Rochambeau, which he had taken from the enemy; these were engraved with his arms, and with an inscription in honour of his courage and clemency.

England nobly did justice to Rochambeau's clemency. After the peace, he visited England, and was cordially received there, particularly by English officers, whose fate, when his prisoners in America, he had done all in his power to alleviate.*

* Lord Cornwallis, in an official despatch, which preceded his return to England (in exchange for President Laurens) bears the following honourable testimony to Rochambeau and the French officers, who were his successful enemies:—"Their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, have

To celebrate the peace, fêtes followed fast in France upon each other, as they had done at the marriage of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. At her marriage we saw Marie Antoinette, an unformed girl, timid in the midst of strangers.* We behold her now the loveliest Queen in Europe, happy in the confidence of her people's love. The confidence was delusive and short-lived, as it had been long deferred and long desired. But, whilst it lasted, it beautified and beatified the Queen, who was so soon to be enshrouded by her dark destiny. Her Majesty's joyousness was contagious; it even inspired her pensive friend, the Princesse de Lamballe, who has told us how her grateful love for Marie Antoinette was the mainspring of her life, to which the kindness of the Queen had reconciled her. One day, about this time, Christopher Gluck, the great composer, met the Princesse de Lamballe, just as he was leaving the Queen's presence. "Ah! dear Princesse," said he, "had I but two heads as lovely as her Majesty's and yours, I should be applauded to the seventh heaven."

really gone beyond what I can possibly describe. This will, I hope, make an impression on the heart of all British officers, whenever the fortune of war may put the French into their power."

* APPENDIX A.

"Then we will send you our portraits," said the Princesse, laughing.

"No," said Gluck, "I mean living heads; my actresses are ugly, and spoil my music."

"Nay, then," said the Princesse, "'twere too much to expect her Majesty, or even myself, to forfeit our heads, though to fame great as that of Gluck."*

The Princesse de Lamballe, when she recorded

*We have elsewhere observed how fondly Marie Antoinette clung to the friends and instructors of her youth. Gluck was at this time more prized by her than ever, as one of the few remaining links of her early life. Metastasio died at Vienna, on the 14th of April, 1782. Grief for the loss of his patroness, Maria Theresa, is supposed to have hastened his end. He was eighty-four years of age. His illness prevented his making a pilgrimage, as he had hoped, to see the Pope; but when his Holiness knew that Metastasio was dying, he sent him his blessing *in articulo mortis*. Marie Antoinette caused a magnificent edition of Metastasio's works to be published, and the following epitaph was written upon him by Caraccioli:—

"Avec l'esprit fécond du Dante et de Voltaire,
Dans un siècle affamé d'écrits licencieux;
Étranger aux auteurs qui se faisaient la guerre,
Il honora les mœurs et respecta les cieux."

The autograph letters of Metastasio are written in a bold but elegant caligraphy—and uniformly bespeak a pure, pious spirit, and much devotion to his royal patrons of the House of Austria. Metastasio had celebrated the birth of Marie Antoinette in an ode. /

this anecdote of the Queen's favourite musician, did not foresee that the heads he admired would be forfeits to the consequences of that liberty the achievement of which just then caused them to be applauded wherever they appeared in public.

But Paris liked Beaumarchais better than it liked Gluck. It has been told how the rivalry between these two composers began before the accession of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette to the throne. In 1787, Gluck went back to Germany and died, just as the "Figaro" of Beaumarchais became a revolutionary war-cry. Beaumarchais forgot, and the people of Paris forgot, that liberty is not a possession that can be won by wit or by the sword, or that can be bestowed by the favour of the most gracious sovereign. They forgot that "democratic principles are good or evil, in proportion as the demos is capable of administering its own affairs with wisdom and integrity." They forgot that corruption in the higher classes, and Socialism in the lower classes, form but poor and unstable foundations for the social and political edifice to rest upon.

Our old friend, the Abbé Robin, when he returned from America to France with a detachment of Count de Rochambeau's troops, after the siege of Yorktown, addressed the following remarks to the Queen upon philosophy in France, which remarks were equally applicable to contemporary political reform in that country :

“What good result can philosophy attain, if she attempt only to overturn and to destroy all worship? Before forming this bold enterprise, philosophy should present a new code, which would cause virtue to be loved and vice to be feared; a code suitable to all conditions, to all men, to all minds. Acting otherwise, philosophy is like a legislator who, discontented with the laws of a people, would abrogate those laws without giving others; or it is like a physician, who would forbid to the sick man food which he considers unwholesome, without giving him better.”

We will now leave Louis XVI. and his Queen in the momentary enjoyment of popular favour, bestowed by a nation whose vanity was flattered, and whose thirst for glory and success was satisfied

by the results of French intervention in the American War of Independence. We have seen how Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were the victims of party and political feuds before they ascended the throne of France. We have seen how rebellion began in America at the same time that the reign of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette began in France, and from what causes the sympathies of the people of France were already enlisted in behalf of rebellion in America.

We have seen how the Seven Years' War had impoverished the Exchequer of France, and how excessive Court expenditure, combined with corrupt misgovernment, had given birth to discontent in France, before the death of Louis XV.—thus preparing the way, already, for political and social changes, in a future whose tendency was as yet undiscovered, and its necessities unrecognized.

In following the successive stages of events in America, we have seen French nobles (some of them predestined victims of French Revolution,) fighting abroad, and caressed at home as heroes of the War of Independence; these heroes themselves have shown us how, in fighting for and advo-

cating American rebellion, they unconsciously were fostering revolution in France.

We have seen how even the private virtues of Louis XVI., and of Marie Antoinette, were prejudicial to them as King and Queen of France, whose antique creeds and social order were shaken before they were called to reign over her.

We have seen how the American Rebellion was the touchstone by which disbelief and discontent were tested in France; and how the last days, the last words, and the deaths of Voltaire and of Rousseau excited fresh antagonism against her weak and tottering government.

We have seen how the American Rebellion brought Dr. Franklin to France; and how he became personally and politically associated with Voltaire in the capital, and helped to introduce the Republicanism of Rousseau into the Court of France.

We have seen how Dr. Franklin influenced the last days, the last words, and the death of Lord Chatham, who had formerly been the greatest political foe of France.

We have seen how Dr. Franklin gained an as-

cendancy over the King, and over the Cabinet of France.

We have seen how superstition and charlatanism arose in proportion as religion and loyalty declined in France.

We have seen pictures of the Court and society of France during the first twelve years of the married life of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette—pictures sketched by contemporary hands of the King, of the Queen, of their most celebrated courtiers and subjects.

We have seen some remote causes of notorious consequences in France; consequences so awful, that the consideration of them has generally overwhelmed the recollection of their origin.

Of more than one of these causes, we may say, as Lafayette said, when, after the French Revolution, the Emperor Napoleon I. spoke to him of the American Rebellion :

“It was but a skirmish of sentinels, though it decided the greatest interests of the universe.”

APPENDIX.

A

(To NARRATIVE, p. 12, vol. i.)

Description and narration of all that was done and of all that took place upon the occasion of the Marriage of Louis Auguste, Dauphin of France (Louis XVI.), with Marie Antoinette Joseph Jeanne, Archduchess of Austria, by M. de la Ferté (Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse), who was present upon the occasion of the Marriage, and at the Fêtes which followed, at Versailles. Translated and abbreviated from the Original MS. (unpublished), with Notes from the most authentic sources. Also, Original account of the Tragedy in the Place Louis XV. upon the same occasion, by an American Gentleman who was present.

“**MARIA THERESA**, Queen-Empress of Austria, having consented to the marriage of her daughter with the dauphin of France, Madame the Archduchess Marie Antoinette (accompanied by her brother, the Emperor, and attended by all the Court of Vienna), repaired to the church of the Augustins, in that city, upon the 19th of April, 1770, there and then to be married by proxy.* Arrived within the church, their

* The Emperor Joseph II., eldest son of Maria Theresa, had succeeded his father, Francis I., in 1764. The Archduchess Marie Antoinette was nine years old when her father died; she was born upon the day of the Lisbon earthquake, Nov. 2nd, 1755.

Imperial and Royal Majesties ascended a platform, and stood there under a canopy.

"The Archduke Ferdinand, and the Archduchess Marie Antoinette, occupied the places prepared for them, before the high altar, but at some distance from it. The Benediction of the Marriage Rings was solemnized by the Prelate Visconté, Nunzio of the Pope. After this Benediction of the Rings, the Archduke Ferdinand, and the Archduchess Marie Antoinette, advanced nearer to the high altar, when the prelate impressively uttered the nuptial prayers and blessing.

"The *Te Deum* was then chanted within the church, whilst two discharges of cannon reverberated from the city ramparts, and two volleys were fired off by a battalion of musketeers from the fortifications. The Court then returned to the Palace in the same order in which it had come from thence. Immediately the church ceremony was concluded, the Count de Lorges (son of the Marquis de Durfort, ambassador of France at Vienna), departed to carry tidings of it to his Majesty, Louis XV., King of France.

"The next day, the Court of Vienna dined in public . . . and in the evening there was a grand Reception at the palace of the Queen-Empress, Maria Theresa.

"Upon the 21st of April, 1770, at a quarter past nine o'clock in the morning, Madame the Dauphiness took leave of the Queen-Empress her mother, and bade farewell to all the royal and imperial members of her family. Then Madame the Dauphiness set forth on her journey to France. Her brother, the Emperor, accompanied her as far as Molck. Medals have been struck at Vienna on the occasion of this union of France and Austria. One of these medals represents the portrait of Madame the Dauphiness on one side, and on the other side the Altar of Concord. Around the portrait of the Dauphiness is inscribed: '*M. Antonia. Arc. Austr. Ludovic. Franciæ. Delphin. Sponsa.*'*

* The Altar of Concord on this medal was intended also

"The public fêtes given at Vienna, in honour of the marriage, have been very fine.

"At the gates of the city of Strasbourg, Marshal Contades awaited the arrival of Madame the Dauphiness. He was surrounded by the chief military and civic authorities of that place. When Madame the Dauphiness arrived at Strasbourg, all those present did homage to her. A magnificent triumphal arch was erected at the entrance of the city. The streets were lined by infantry garrison regiments. Fountains of wine were playing in front of the hôtel de Ville. At the episcopal palace, which was appointed for her residence, the Cardinal de Rohan, and the counts of the cathedral, welcomed Madame the Dauphiness, receiving her into that abode with all due honours.

"The counts who composed the grand chapter were Prince Ferdinand de Rohan (archbishop of Bordeaux); Grand Provost, the Prince of Lorraine; the Count de Truchses; the Bishop of Tournay; the Counts de Salim and de Mandreicheim; the Prince Louis de Rohan (coadjutor); the three Princes of Hohenlôhe; the two Counts of Kœnigseck, &c. Madame the Dauphiness kissed Cardinal de Rohan, the Prince of Lorraine, and the Princes Ferdinand and Louis de Rohan. The various corporations of Strasbourg were

to commemorate the political alliance between France and Austria in 1755-56 (before the Seven Years' War against allied England and Prussia), after 300 years of enmity and bloodshed. The Dauphin of France (afterwards Louis XVI.) was the grandson of Louis XV., whose son, commonly called "The Grand Dauphin" (father to the bridegroom of Marie Antoinette), had died in 1765. The "Grand Dauphin's" widow (daughter of Augustus, King of Poland), had survived him only two years. They left three sons:—The Duc de Berri (now bridegroom dauphin), born 1754; the Count de Provence, born 1755; the Count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.), born 1757.—Monseigneur the dauphin was, therefore, only sixteen years old at this time of his marriage with the Austrian Archduchess, who was a year younger than himself. He had been brought up very devoutly by his tutor, the Duc de la Vauguyon, and by his aunts, the daughters of Louis XV. His father and mother had both died in "the odour of sanctity."

then admitted, and had the honour of being presented to her. Ladies of the provincial nobility had the privilege of being named to her as they appeared to pay their respects.*

"Madame the Dauphiness dined in public. The Strasbourg magistrates then had the honour of presenting the wives of the city to her. That ceremony was terminated by a Bacchanalian fête, the chief actors in which were coopers, who, in dancing, formed curious and various combinations and figures with their cask-hoops, which exhibition seemed to amuse Madame the Dauphiness very much indeed. Afterwards, she went to the French comedy, cheered on her way by loud cries of 'Vive le Roy!' The '*Servante Maîtresse*' was acted. Dupuis and Desronais played. Upon her return from the theatre to the archbishop's palace, Madame the Dauphiness found all the streets of Strasbourg illuminated. She testified her admiration of a scene so novel and so brilliant as Strasbourg that night presented, and then supped in public.† In the

* Goethe was a student at Strasbourg when Marie Antoinette arrived there; a pavilion was erected upon an island in the midst of the Rhine, to which she repaired with her suite, when fatigued by the civic pomp of Strasbourg. "To this pavilion I was admitted," says Goethe, in his *Mémoires*. "Entering, I was astonished at the subject of the tapestry which lined the principal tent. There I beheld Jason, Creusa, Medea! That is to say, the image of the most tragic and fatal marriage on record. In the midst is a throne, on the left of which a wife (surrounded by friends and servants in despair), struggles against a frightful death. Jason recoils in horror at the sight of his children with their throats cut.—*Mem. Leben, Cotta, Tübingen*.

† It was the daily custom of the royal family of France at this time to dress, to dine, and sometimes to sup in public. Madame Campan tells us that "the door-keepers at Versailles admitted all people who were well dressed," and "that these sights were the joy of provincials." Horace Walpole declares, in his letters from France, "'Tis very convenient to gobble up a whole Royal Family in an hour's time." In various histories of the time it is asserted that, upon reaching the frontiers of France, the Dauphiness was formally attired as a Princess of France. This ceremony (performed by the Countess de Noailles, who was sent from France as chief lady-in-waiting to the Dauphiness) consisted in removing, one by one, the whole of her Austrian gar-

meanwhile a chorus resounded of 'Vive le Roy!' at which the Dauphiness looked pleased. At midnight she went to the 'hall of the theatre,' where Marshal Contades gave a large ball. Not only were all the chief personages of Strasbourg present at this ball, but also distinguished foreigners, officers of the garrison, and a certain number of male and female citizens, dressed *à la Strasbourgeoise*, and bedecked with ribbons of colours '*à la Dauphine*.' Madame the Dauphiness stayed a considerable time at this ball, witnessing the dancing, and then retired. The personages of consideration who had been presented to Madame the Dauphiness, were this day admitted to pay their court to her. She also received députations from the Cantons, and from the Lutheran and Catholic Universities, the chief members of which did homage to her. Afterwards, she set forth on her way to the cathedral, at the door of which she was received by Prince Louis de Rohan, coadjutor, arrayed in his pontifical robes, and accompanied by the counts of the cathedral, and by all the clergy who came to welcome her, and to do honour to her. The following is the address of Prince Louis de Rohan to Madame the Dauphiness :

" 'Madame, two nations are united in this temple. Both of these nations are eager to render eternal thanks to the God of Empires. By holy and ardently desired ties, He is about to place the seal on the common happiness of France and Austria, and to cement an alliance the end of which is to protect religion, and to cause peace to reign upon earth. You behold Alsace animated by joy. France awaits you to consummate her desires. In the happiness manifested on every side around you, Madame, recognize the same sentiment which has caused tears to be shed at Vienna. The love which is a cause of joy to us, is a cause of grief to those from whom you have lately parted. The

ments, even to her shoes and stockings, from the person of Marie Antoinette, and replacing them by clothing of French fashion and fabric.

Archduchess Marie Antoinette is already known even where she has not yet been seen. Such reputation is often due to birth. You, Madame, owe it to natural and beneficent gifts, which the cares of a mother, never to be forgotten, have perfected in you. You will be to France as the living image of that cherished mother and mighty Empress. The administration of Europe has long been as the soul of Maria Theresa, and that soul is now about to be united, for all posterity, to the illustrious race of Bourbon. From such an union a new golden age ought to be born! Our successors, under the dominion of Marie Antoinette, and of Louis Augustus, will see happiness perpetuated, such as we enjoy in this generation, under the reign of Louis the Well-beloved.'

"Mass followed this address, in the cathedral of Strasbourg, and this mass was chanted to music. Madame the Dauphiness returned from the cathedral to dine in public, at the Episcopal Palace, from whence, at four o'clock in the afternoon, she departed for Saverne, followed by all her court, as also by Marshal Contades and his staff, &c.

"At Saverne, Cardinal de Rohan presented an old woman to Madame the dauphiness. This old woman was one hundred and five years of age, and had never been ill in her life; she said to the Dauphiness in German: 'Princess, I have made vows to heaven that you may live as long as I have lived, and as free from all infirmities.' In the same language Madame the Dauphiness replied: 'I desire to do so, if it be for the happiness of France.' She then presented her hand for the old woman to kiss, and ordered a sum of money to be given to her.

"The King (Louis XV.) had been regularly informed of the progress of Madame the Dauphiness. When intelligence was brought to his Majesty that she had reached Soissons, he set out, about noon, accompanied by Monseigneur the Dauphin, for Compiègne, there to await her arrival.

"The next day his Majesty, Monseigneur the Dau-

phin, and Mesdames the Princesses, attended by the principal officers of the royal household, went as far as the bridge of Berné to meet Madame the Dauphiness. Detachments of the King's household troops preceded and followed the royal carriages; and the Cabinet ministers, also, formed part of the procession, which was arranged according to the precedence of rank. The bridge of Berné is situated in the forest of Compiègne. When Madame the Dauphiness perceived the King, she alighted from her carriage, at a short distance from the spot where his Majesty stood, ready to welcome her. Madame the Dauphiness walked towards the King. The Count de Tessé, her first equerry, gave his hand to her. She was also attended by her Chevalier d'Honneur, the Count of Saulxtavannes, and by the Countess de Noailles, her lady of honour, by the Duchesse de Pecquigny, the Marquis de Duras, and by all the French nobility, whom the King had appointed to receive her on the frontier. When the Dauphiness reached the King, she threw herself at his feet. His Majesty raised her, embraced her with much tenderness, and presented her to Monseigneur the Dauphin, who also embraced her. Then the King's daughters (Madame Adelaïde, Mesdames Victoire and Sophie) were presented to the Dauphiness. They, too, embraced her. The King now remounted his carriage to return to Compiègne; he placed the Dauphiness on the seat next to himself. Monseigneur the Dauphin and the Countess de Noailles were in the same carriage, opposite to them.*

* As in this drive to the Château of Compiègne the bridegroom had the first opportunity of contemplating his bride, we may as well describe her here in the words of one who knew her:—"Madame la Dauphine is tall for her age; thin, but not lean; her figure is that of a young person not yet developed. She is well made; her hair is blond, promising some day to be chestnut. Her forehead is very fine; majesty is already enthroned there. The form of her face is oval, but rather long. Her eyebrows are as well marked as those of a fair person can be. Her eyes are blue, but not insipid—for they sparkle with vivacity and wit. Her nose is aquiline; her mouth is small,

Upon her arrival at the Château de Compiègne, Madame the Dauphiness was conducted to her apartments by the King and Monseigneur the Dauphin, who each held one of her hands. Within her apartments, the Duc d'Orléans, the Duc and Duchesse de Chartres, the Duc and Duchesse de Bourbon, the Count and Countess de la Marche, the Duc de Penthièvre, and the Princesse de Lamballe, were presented to the Dauphiness by his Majesty. All who were privileged by their blood to kiss the Dauphiness had that honour. The King then retired, and the nobility, who had accompanied him to Compiègne, were each in turn introduced to her. In the evening the King supped in public with the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and the Princes and Princesses of the blood who were at Compiègne. Afterwards, the Grand Master of the ceremonies caused a marriage-ring to be tried on the third finger of the left hand of Madame the Dauphiness. Monseigneur the Dauphin lay that night, as on the night preceding, at the hôtel of the Count de St. Florentin, Minister and Secretary of State.

"The next day, the King, accompanied by the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and the Princesses, set forth from Compiègne, for the Château de la Muette (in the Bois de Boulogne), and there his Majesty, having ordered a magnificent set of diamonds to be prepared for Madame the Dauphiness, caused them to be pre-

although her lips are thick—especially the under one—(*la levre Autrichienne*). The brilliance of her complexion is dazzling, so that it might well dispense with rouge. Her bearing is that of an Archduchess; but her dignity of deportment is so tempered by gentleness, that this young Princess equally inspires respect and tenderness."—*Nouvelles à la Main*, 1770.—The bridegroom Dauphin was at this time declared, by Madame du Barry, to be "a big lubberly boy." Madame la Comtesse de Noailles, seated in the same carriage with the Dauphin and Dauphiness, was a rigid disciplinarian in old French Court customs and conventions, and, although profanely nicknamed by the Dauphiness, "Madame l'Etiquette," the late Queen of France had submitted, implicitly, to her guidance in all things.

sented to her. (A necklace of pearls was also destined for her, the smallest of which was the size of a filbert. This necklace, originally brought into France by Anne of Austria, in 1615, was always the property of the Dauphiness for the time being.) The brothers of the Dauphin (Monseigneur the Count de Provence, and Monseigneur the Count d'Artois), and the Dauphin's aunt, Madame Adelaïde, went, in the afternoon, to entertain Madame the Dauphiness at la Muette. The King went there again at seven o'clock in the evening, and, after having supped, his Majesty returned to Versailles with the Dauphin, the Count de Provence, the Count d'Artois, and Mesdames the Princesses.

"The next day (the 16th of May), about ten o'clock in the morning, Madame the Dauphiness arrived at Versailles. Immediately upon her arrival the King went to her, and remained with her a very long time in her own apartments. There, Madame Elizabeth, the Dauphin's sister, was presented to the Dauphiness, and also the Count de Clermont, and the Princess de Conty. Towards one o'clock in the afternoon of that day, Madame the Dauphiness was conducted to the King's apartments, and from thence the marriage procession started for the chapel in the following order :

"The Grand Master, the Master, and Assistant of the ceremonies led the way for Monseigneur the Dauphin, who gave his hand to Madame the Dauphiness. (Monseigneur the Dauphin was dressed in a doublet of gold, trimmed with a network of gold and diamonds.) Then followed the King, attended by Monseigneur the Count de Provence, Monseigneur the Count d'Artois, and the Princes of the blood. Afterwards came the King's daughters and the Princesses of the blood. Then the lords and ladies of the Court, and the principal officers of his Majesty's household, all dressed superbly, in the greatest magnificence. Having entered the chapel, the King knelt before his praying-desk. Monseigneur the Count de Provence, Monseigneur the Count d'Artois, Madame Adelaïde, Mesdames the Princesses, and the Princes of the blood, took their

accustomed places, according to their rank. Monseigneur the Dauphin and Madame the Dauphiness advanced together to the foot of the altar, and knelt down together on the steps of the sanctuary. The Archbishop of Rheims, Grand Almoner, who had issued from the sacristy at the same moment that the King entered the chapel, now advanced and presented the holy water to his Majesty, and then mounted to the altar, which the King approached, as also did the Count de Provence, the Count d'Artois, Madame Adelaide, Madame Elizabeth, the Princes of the blood, and Mesdames the Princesses. The Prelate, after addressing a homily on holy matrimony to Monseigneur the Dauphin, and to Madame the Dauphiness, began the ceremony by the benediction of a ring, and of thirteen pieces of gold. (These gold pieces were thirteen medals of the largest size, struck for the occasion.) The Prelate then presented the ring to Monseigneur the Dauphin, who placed it on the third finger of the left hand of Madame the Dauphiness. The bridegroom also endowed the bride with the thirteen pieces of gold which had just been blessed. The nuptial benediction was then pronounced over Monseigneur the Dauphin and Madame the Dauphiness. The King then returned to his Prie-Dieu, and the grand almoner began mass. During mass, the King's musicians executed an anthem (the composition of the Abbé de Gauzargues, music-master of the Chapel Royal). During the offertory a canopy of silver brocade was erected over the heads of Monseigneur the Dauphin and Madame the Dauphiness. The Bishop of Senlis, the King's first almoner, held this canopy on the side of the Dauphin; and the Bishop of Chartres, first almoner of the Dauphiness, sustained it upon the side of the Princess. The canopy was not removed until the Archbishop of Rheims, grand almoner, had uttered all the accustomed prayers. Mass being concluded, the Archbishop approached the King's praying-desk, and presented to his Majesty the marriage-register of the royal parish, which the curé, who had assisted at the ceremony,

had brought with him to be signed. The King, Monseigneur the Dauphin, and Madame the Dauphiness, the Royal Family, the Princes and Princesses of the blood, the lords and the ladies of the Court, returned to his Majesty's apartments from the chapel, in the same order as had been observed in going thither. In the passage through the grand apartments were assembled more than five thousand persons to see the Court pass. Down the great gallery a balustrade, enclosing a space ten feet wide, had been erected, from one end to the other. The Duc d'Aumont, first gentleman of the King's chamber for that year, had caused tickets of admission to be distributed, and the doorkeepers had orders to let as many people pass as possible. Two rows of benches were placed in the gallery against the balustrade, and three rows were placed beyond, on the looking-glass sides. These places were only filled by the best dressed ladies, who formed the most agreeable and magnificent *coup-d'œil*, which was enjoyed by all the Court, whilst traversing the centre of the gallery, without any inconvenience whatever. Balustrades were erected throughout the suite of grand apartments, and also raised seats, all of which were filled with choice companies. After the King and Court had passed, all the apartments were evacuated with the most perfect order, so as to give time to prepare for that evening's festivities.*

"When Madame the Dauphiness had retired to her own apartments, the great officers of her household had the honour of being presented to her, and of kissing her hands, upon taking their oaths of allegiance to her,

* The gossiping *Mémoires de Bachaumont* tell us:—"All those who have been fortunate enough to get admission into the apartments of Versailles on the marriage-day, . . . agree that there was never such a miraculous sight as they presented. These fortunate folks pretend that all description would fall far below the reality, and that only fairy-tales can give an idea of it. . . . The richness of the courtiers' clothing, the splendour of the diamonds, the magnificence of the place, so dazzled the spectators, that they have lost the power to detail minutely what they saw."

in presence of the Count de St. Florentin, Minister, and Secretary of State, he being at the head of the King's household. When Madame the Dauphiness had received the oaths of allegiance, the Duc d'Aumont, first gentleman of the King's chamber, had the honour of presenting her with the key of a magnificent casket, which, by the King's order, he had had made and placed in the apartment of Madame the Dauphiness. This casket was filled with a prodigious number of costly jewels, which were presented by his Majesty to the Dauphiness for distribution at Versailles." (The enumeration of these wedding-gifts fills between twenty and thirty pages of the original MS., and, according to that description, the gifts, varying in value according to the rank of those to whom they were presented, were almost of fabulous magnificence.)

"Towards six o'clock in the evening, the King, accompanied by the Royal Family, by the Princes and Princesses of the blood, and by the lords and ladies of the Court, entered the grand gallery, where his Majesty played at lansquenet, as also did the Count de Provence, the Count d'Artois, Madame Adelaïde, and several of the Princes and Princesses. A great number of play-tables were set for the Court. The gallery was ornamented by twenty lustres, decorated with large garlands of flowers; likewise by sixteen candelabra of crystal set upon pedestals of gold and silver, and by thirty-two girandoles—all very splendid, which the wardrobe-keeper had lately had made, and some of which the keepers of the Privy-Purse had borrowed, to avoid double expense for the King. (The play-table, too, was borrowed. M. le Duc d'Aumont having only ordered a large carpet of green velvet, with lace and gold fringe, for the King's lansquenet-table to stand upon.) The gallery was illumined at fall of day, and presented a fine spectacle; the rest of the apartments were similarly lighted and decorated. M. le Duc d'Aumont had caused about six thousand apartment tickets to be distributed. These tickets were stamped with his arms, and signed by (me) 'the Sieur de la

Ferté.' The doorkeepers of the royal chamber, having the Swiss of the King's apartments under their orders, protected the entrances. The King's valets de chambre placed all persons as they arrived within the balustrades and upon the benches and graduated seats which skirted every hall and saloon. The Valets de Chambre caused the public company to file from one part of the suite to another within the balustrade of the grand gallery, so that all the people might see the King at play, and, passing out, they could view the Hall of Peace, and the late Queen's apartments.* Thus, no person could go backward to avoid the crowd, nor penetrate into the enclosure reserved for the Court and the royal service. More than six thousand persons enjoyed the sight; but there was, at last, a little more confusion and crowding than in the morning, notwithstanding the precautions which had been taken to prevent it. A heavy storm had occurred in the afternoon, and a second tempest followed just as the King was at play. The gardens were, therefore, rendered impassable. The fireworks and illuminations, which ought to have taken place that evening, were absolutely prevented by the weather, and everybody was obliged to seek for shelter in the galleries. The barriers were forced by the pressure of the crowd, and thus many persons introduced themselves into the apartments who never would have dreamed of finding themselves there, had they been occupied and amused out of doors. But all passed off without any accident, and the galleries and apartments were quite clear of the crowd, when the King passed through them on his way to supper. As soon as his Majesty entered the chapel gallery, which was illuminated by a vast number of crystal chandeliers, and by gilt branches (from the Privy Purse), the bands of the French Guards, and of the Swiss Guards

* The late Queen, Marie Leszcinska, daughter of Stanislas, ex-king of Poland. This Queen had lived the life of a saint at Versailles, having "placed at the foot of the crucifix all her domestic troubles." She did not long survive her son, the Dauphin, father of the present Dauphin and bridegroom.

—dressed in Turkish costume, and raised upon a platform at the back of the new hall—executed various pieces of music, which continued until his Majesty had entered the ‘Hall of the Spectacle,’ the inlaid floor of which was elevated to the height of the theatre.*

“The supper-table held twenty-two covers for the Royal Family, the Princes, and the Princesses of the blood. Around the table, at a little distance from it, was a balustrade of marble and gold, which separated the officers who served within from the spectators. The balconies which encircled the first tier of boxes in the theatre, and all the other boxes, were occupied by a number of people of high rank. The supper hall was brilliantly lighted by lustres, which hung from rosettes of inlaid gold on the ceiling down to the third tier of boxes. Each box, between colonnades of looking-glass, was draped by costly curtains of blue and silver brocade, with deep borderings of silver fringe, looped back by tassels of gold and silver. From the centre of each arcade hung chandeliers of gold and silver, which were multiplied many thousand times by the reflections in the mirrors. The front part of the theatre was enclosed by a grand arcade, thirty-two feet in height, by fourteen in width, which served as an entrance to a music saloon. Upon each side of the arcade were columns of Italian marble of the Corinthian order, thirty feet high; the bases, the capitals, and the flutings of which were gold. Near these

* To revert again to the comments of the “outsiders,” in the *Mémoires de Bachaumont* (year 1770):—“If there be discontent at the new Salle de l’Opéra at Paris, the crowd who are curious can find compensation by admiring the magnificent hall which is just constructed at Versailles. Independently of the *fine coup d’œil* which this presents (its magnificence as a whole), the mechanism of its interior is so arranged, that it may be quickly converted from a Theatre to a Royal Banqueting Hall, and a Ball-room. . . . All this part of the work belongs to St. Arnoux, late mechanist to the Opéra, but who, unfortunately, being too much occupied with Versailles, has not been able to bestow his attention upon Paris,—where the Opéra too much shows the result of his absence.”

columns were two doors, for the use of the servitors of the royal table. These doors, with mantle-trees of carved gold, were draperied with gold and silver stuffs, similar to the curtains which festooned the looking-glasses and boxes round the theatre. Above the doors were tribunes and stages, one surmounting another, with balconies of marble and gold. The music saloon, seen through the grand arcade, in front of the stage, was thirty-one feet in depth, by twenty-seven feet in width, and thirty feet high. This saloon was decorated by eight columns of the Ionic order, twenty feet high, the bases, capitals, and flutings of which were of gold. The entablatures above were of the Ionic order. All their ornaments were of gold. Between these Ionic columns were arcades of looking-glass, draperied by gorgeous curtains like those round the theatre. The main body of the music-saloon was of bright green marble. In each partition between the arcades and the columns were marble tables supporting golden emblems of music. Above each arcade, in the midst of the archivaults, were genii grouped, bearing the cyphers of Monseigneur the Dauphin, and of Madame the Dauphiness, in gold relief. The ceiling of this music saloon was so arched as to be raised six feet from the cornice. Each arcade, in the arching of the ceiling, was filled by large multiplying mirrors, so that it seemed as though there were an open roof pierced to the skies. These roof mirrors and arcades were framed with rich borderings of divers colours, caught up in graceful forms by golden eagles bearing garlands of golden oak leaves. In the recesses children were represented playing upon various instruments of music. Four brilliant lustres, each bearing thirty-two lights, were suspended from the ceiling by golden ropes; and below the arched looking-glass roof of this music saloon, above the arcade beneath, was a coloured picture representing the zephyrs scattering flowers.* Eighty musicians were placed upon the steps

* At the beginning of the French Revolution, when the Royal

of the amphitheatre (the 'director of the King's music' standing in front of them,) and, during supper, some of the finest symphonies and pieces were performed.*

"After the festival, the King having conducted Monseigneur the Dauphin and Madame the Dauphiness into their apartment, the Archbishop of Rheims there pronounced the benediction of the bed. The King presented the chemise to Monseigneur the Dauphin, and the Duchesse de Chartres presented it to Madame the Dauphiness.

"The next day, about six o'clock in the evening, the King, accompanied by all the Royal Family, entered the new theatre, where 'Persée' was performed. Madame the Dauphiness, in the very first steps trodden by her on the ground of France, has seen and heard the sentiments inspired by her presence in the hearts of all who have had the happiness and honour of beholding her. All classes and conditions of men are eager to do homage to this Princess. The six corporations of the merchants of Paris have celebrated the marriage of Monseigneur the Dauphin by an act of benevolence, in releasing their debtors from prison. The following are the addresses of the Merchants of Paris to Monseigneur the Dauphin and to Madame the Dauphiness:

"'Monseigneur, the six corporations hasten to declare their devotion to you. Faithful subjects, they ought to show themselves useful citizens; and, worthily to celebrate an alliance which promises such happiness for the nation, they have endeavoured to imitate the

register of palace expenditure was demanded of Louis XVI., he reluctantly complied, but placed a seal upon the expenditure of his grandfather and predecessor, Louis XV. The assembly, touched by this delicacy, respected it and its motive for the moment.—Thiers's French Revolution, vol. i., p. 221.

* Court gossip declares that, during supper, the King tried to check his grandson, the Dauphin—who sat next to his Majesty—from eating too much. "My child," said the King, "you had better not indulge in the pleasures of the table to-night." "Why not?" asked the Dauphin. "I always sleep most soundly after eating a good supper."

virtue which has always distinguished the princes of your blood. Fathers of families languished in chains. They are free! Monseigneur, these men are free through you; since the sentiment which delivers them is in your heart, and as, by an act of humanity, we are but the interpreters of your benevolence."

"*To Madame the Dauphiness.*

"*MADAME*,—The merchants of the capital of France lay their fealty at your feet. You are about to become the ornament and delight of France. France will owe unto you the happiness of a Prince whom she cherishes. Had not destiny formed you for the Throne, you would have been certain of reigning over us, by the Empire of the Virtues, and by that of the Graces.'

"The city corporations were in robes of ceremony when they had the honour of complimenting Monseigneur the Dauphin, and Madame the Dauphiness, upon the occasion of their marriage, and of offering to them the presents which it is customary to make upon such occasions. The hall adjoining the theatre had been prepared for a full-dress ball. On the 19th of May, the King, accompanied by all the Royal family, and attended by a brilliant Court, entered this hall, in the evening. Monseigneur the Dauphin, and Madame the Dauphiness opened the Ball. The King, when dancing commenced, sat in his fauteuil with his back to the orchestra. All his gentlemen-in-waiting stood behind the King. The dancers, when not dancing, were placed upon the first row of raised seats, where the King could see them. The hall was lighted like day. The orchestra was composed of eighty-six musicians, in dominoes of rose colour and white. The band of the royal musketeers (dressed in uniform) occupied the centre of the orchestra, with their wind-instruments. Pliant tabourets and benches were arranged in a square for the use of the Royal family, for the Court, and for ambassadors. M. le Duc d'Au-

mont, first gentleman of the King's chamber, had, by royal command, given away a large number of tickets; spectators filled the galleries and boxes around the ball-room, and were allowed to enter the refreshment-room adjoining, which, by its superb and convenient arrangements, excited universal admiration. M. de St. Arnoult, who had designed it, was praised by the King, and complimented by the Royal family. Notwithstanding the immense concourse of people who enjoyed this fête, good order reigned everywhere. After some time the King left the ball-room, and entered the grand gallery. From thence he saw a signal given by (me) the Sieur Delaferté for the fireworks to begin. (These fireworks had been prepared for the marriage-day, but owing to the recent storms had been postponed until now). The signal was let off from the window in the grand gallery called 'The King's Casement.' Below, the whole width of the Terrace was embraced by a railing one hundred and twenty fathoms long. The pilasters of this railing were surmounted by vases supported on pedestals, and lamps were festooned all along the Terrace from one pilaster to another. Planted against the length of this railing were 'rockets of honour,' painted black, so as to be invisible until they were fired. When these rockets had been let off, masses of light arose, as though by magic, from the vases, and assumed the form of vast chandeliers. Along the terrace six spheres of light appeared, and six pyramids; also a quantity of water fire-works."

(At this point the description becomes too minute and lengthy to be transcribed; an entire volume is filled with it: wild-fire plays from fountain to terrace, the whole front of the palace of Versailles is illuminated.)

"At length twenty-four bombs burst into 20,000 rockets." (The Court and the people are equally excited by the *feu d'artifice*). "Two networks, placed between the Basin of Apollo and the end of the canal, concealed two orchestras. The networks were co-

vered with garlands of flowers, and surmounted by crowns; the invisible music, inviting people to dance, electrified the crowd with fresh life, and helped to give additional animation to the splendid scene. Twelve of the most lovely groves in the park were illuminated, while their fountains, playing, refreshed the eye and ear, dazzled and intoxicated by light and music. All the paths leading to these groves were made brilliant by lustres suspended at equal distances down their centre, and at the extremities of the groves. The bower of large chestnut trees was lighted by lustres hung at equal distances; the enclosure thus formed a large luminous circle, which was consecrated to the dance, many an orchestra being hidden by the foliage of the trees. The 'Isle of Love' was surrounded by pyramids of fire. The grand colonnade and the vases which crowned it were wreathed by triple ropes of light. Each arcade, in its highest arch above, had a lustre of light suspended, the reflections of these lustres playing upon the waters of the fountains beneath. Elsewhere, majestic columns and obelisks were resplendent with light. The *Allée Royale*, commonly called the *Tapis Vert*, the circular part which precedes it, the hedges of elm-trees which encircle the descents of the Zone, were ornamented between each statue and vase of white marble, by illuminated yew-trees, and by fiery pyramids thirty feet high; the varied forms of which presented different effects of light, which light mingled with that of the fires surrounding the fountains (which seemed to play with every colour of the rainbow), and was shed like the blaze of noonday upon the fragrant flower-gardens in front of the château. Fire, in every varied form, revealed by its light a luminous fleet upon the surface of the smooth waters. This fleet was composed of forty ships and gondolas, hung with lanthorns, which marked out all the sails and riggings with light. This fleet—when the King re-entered the gallery after supper—set sail in good order (upon the signal of a bomb from

the casements of Trianon and of another from the Ménagerie), through the centre of the canal, and sustained a measured progress to the sound of transcendent music, performing various evolutions during the remainder of the night. The ball-room (out of doors) was filled by a prodigious crowd of people eager to participate in the pleasures of the dance, for which that place was prepared. The part above the amphitheatre of trees was adorned by pyramids, and by groups of dolphins covered with lights. . . . Vases, cascades, all surrounding the amphitheatre of this ball-room, were overflowing with light, its reflections causing the waters of the fountains to sparkle as though with diamonds. Masses of light, in the form of yew-trees, revealed a theatre . . . where plays, analogous to the fête, were acted, and tight-rope dancers, &c., exhibited.

“Upon the 21st of May, there was a masked ball at Versailles. The grand apartments were illuminated by 1700 lights. There were three orchestras, composed of one hundred and ninety-nine symphonists, dressed in dominoes of blue trimmed with rose-colour; one orchestra was in the Hall of Hercules, another in the Hall of Mars, and the third in the Hall of Mercury. Monseigneur the Dauphin, with Madame the Dauphiness, the Princes (brothers of the Dauphin), and Mesdames the Princesses, placed themselves in the Hall of Hercules, where they danced. Madame la Comtesse de Noailles, chief lady-of-honour to Madame the Dauphiness, had caused dominoes to be made for that Princess, and for the ladies in waiting upon her.”

(The original description from this point extends through another volume; it is impossible here to follow the mazes of the masked ball through the various halls of Versailles, illumined and bedecked beyond all precedent). After twenty-four hours' rest—

“The Demoiselle Clairon acted the part of *Athalie*, before Madame the Dauphiness, and all the Court, at the Theatre of Versailles. The Demoiselle Clairon

had retired from the public stage; but M. le Duc d'Aumont, desiring that Madame the Dauphiness should see that celebrated actress, induced her to play the part in which she was justly famous. The lesser rôles were sustained by the best actors of the King's troops. Upon the 24th of May, it was supposed that Madame the Dauphiness needed rest. . . . On successive days she witnessed the second representation of 'Persée;' 'Castor and Pollux' (opera); 'Tancrède,' (opera); 'Semiramis.'* Opera and ballets quickly followed each other, but the favourite ballet was 'The Enchanted Tower.'†

The Court chronicler, who has thus minutely told us all about the fêtes at Versailles, is silent concerning the fêtes at Paris upon the occasion of the marriage of Monseigneur the Dauphin, and of Madame the Dauphiness. The birth of the Dauphiness, Marie Antoinette, had been marked by the earthquake of Lisbon; her marriage was the cause of a catastrophe in the Place Louis XV., in Paris, which was regarded as a sinister presage. Madame the Dauphiness herself, although only a girl fifteen years old, was gloomy with dark forebodings in the midst of 'The Enchanted Tower,' at Versailles. The storms on the marriage-day had postponed the fire-works in Paris as at Versailles. Upon the night of their display in Paris, the Parisians, rendered still more eager for the sight by delay, assembled by thousands in the Place Louis XV., which place, then as now, was best adapted for such a spectacle. The crowd rushed in one direction to reach a certain point of view, when some gutters, which had been deemed too unimportant for the attention of the city surveyor, caused some among the foremost of the crowd

* Voltaire, the author of 'Semiramis,' was not in Paris at this time. Just twenty years before, Voltaire had been banished from the French court and capital for intriguing with Frederick the Great, of Prussia, against France. (See Narrative, vol. i., p. 41.)

† MS. Mus. Brit.

to stumble and to fall. They were prevented recovering their feet by the increasing pressure of the mob in the rear, and were trampled to death. Their dead bodies formed a barrier to the people immediately behind; the crowd, being impatient at the stoppage, and ignorant of the cause, still pushed on. The horror of the event increased with every moment, until it resulted in the mangled death of hundreds of innocent victims. An eyewitness gave the following account of the event, which was copied into the American newspapers. *

“ *Paris, June 3rd, 1770.*—By the late disaster in this city, one hundred and thirty-three persons perished on the spot. The number of the wounded is incomparably greater. They die in multitudes every day. No age, nor sex, nor rank, met with the smallest distinction. The Duc de Richelieu escaped by a miracle. The Duc de Biron, colonel of the French Guards, has given a pension to one of his soldiers for saving his life. The Prince de Clermont, ignorant of the calamity, desired his coachman to drive forward; but in an instant a hundred swords were drawn to prevent him from moving a step. Having told them he was the Prince de Clermont, he was answered only by cries of horror, which said, ‘We know not the Prince de Clermont.’ A lady of distinction, offering a hundred louis to anybody to save her life, perished without an attempt to assist her. There are among the dead many knights of St. Louis; and others of high rank. The number of women and priests is much greater than that of others; these are extremely fond of public spectacles, and are little able to defend themselves in a crowd. The scene next day was truly mournful. Many of the dead bodies lay all night on the ground (others were removed to the churchyard of the Magdalene). These the next day were claimed, under the inspection of the commissaries, by their relations.

* Date—from Monday, September 10, to Monday, September 17, 1770.

I have not room to describe some striking incidents on this occasion. To give an idea of the rest : A woman who missed her husband, came to seek for him in the heap of dead ; at length his body was unveiled, all in blood and deformity ; thrice she attempted to approach and claim him, and thrice her strength failed her. Then all at once, like one frantic, she rushed forward, and, without saying a word, threw herself on the dead body, which, by her behaviour, she sufficiently discovered to be that of her husband. The Parliament is to inquire into the conduct of the lieutenants of police, &c.'

"The people, but yesterday enthusiastic in favour of the Dauphin and Dauphiness, to-day regarded them as the cause of national woe, and almost universal mourning. 'In short,' says Madame de Genlis (who, safe in apartments lent to her for the occasion, would have been a witness of this ill-omened calamity, but that, as she declares, she persisted in shutting her eyes)*—'in short, it is very striking that upon the occasion of the marriage of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, much blood flowed upon that same place where this Prince and Princess were doomed to be immolated with many other innocent victims.'

"Madame Campan, who was at Versailles at the time, declares that the bride and bridegroom sent their whole year's† revenues to solace the unfortunate families who had lost their relatives upon that disastrous night of the marriage fêtes ; and that the grief of the Dauphiness was so profound that it resisted all attempts to amuse her. One of her ladies, trying to console the Dauphiness, on the plea of retributive justice, told her that among the dead bodies a number of pickpockets had been found, whose pockets were crammed with jewels, watches, and valuables—filched from the crowd in the first moments of panic. 'There-

* *Mems. de Genlis*, tome ii., p. 118.

† Also : *Mems. de la Cour*, p. 60. Paris, 1826.

fore,' said this lady to the Dauphiness, 'these creatures deserved to die, Madame.' 'Oh! no, no,' cried the Dauphiness, 'they are dead by the side of honest people. By what law have many innocent persons perished with them?'

"The Duc de la Vauguyon, the Dauphin's tutor, relates that upon the 1st of June, when the Dauphin's pension of 6000 livres was brought to him, he instantly inclosed it to M. de Sartines, one of the Cabinet Ministers, with this letter :

"'MONSIEUR,—I have heard of the misfortune which has happened in Paris on my account. I am inconsolable at the news. This moment the pension has been brought to me which the King allows me monthly. It is all I have to dispose of. I send it to you. Succour the unfortunate with it. You know, Monsieur, my esteem for you. LOUIS AUGUSTE.'"

B

(To NARRATIVE, p. 15, vol. i.)

*The Princes of the Blood.**

"Hôtel de Bouillon, Quai des Théatins,
"Paris, May 30, 1771.

"The heaviness of the day, and the lowness of my spirits, determine me to stay at home to amuse myself. I shall describe the state of parties here at Court, and *à la ville*; for with us in this country there is no such thing as parties among the people. I will first mention the characters of the principal personages. And here I must observe, that whatever I say is the mere result of my own observations or experience. I may be mistaken, but it is my misfortune, not my fault, if I am. I can have no motive to determine me one side or the other, as these loose thoughts of mine will most cer-

* M.S. Mus. Brit. (unpublished), Ex Dono. Coxe.

tainly never be seen by mortal man except myself. But to begin :

"The DUC D'ORLÉANS is first Prince of the Blood-Royal of France. He is about fifty-one years of age. Very fat, rather low than tall, and of a better complexion than most of the Bourbons. He is a man who has very little knowledge of men, of business, or of books. He is polite, affable, and good-natured. He does not want for personal bravery, but he has no resolution ; he is shamefully weak. He became by his rank the head of his party (the Parliament party), but he has neither abilities to support it, nor spirit to animate it. He has no judgment ; I have seen him sometimes confound things for want of it. He is governed by the Marquise de Montesson, for whom he has a foolish and romantic passion,* and by the Abbé de Breteuil (brother of Baron de Breteuil), who is his Chancellor. The most considerable personage in Paris is undoubtedly the Duc d'Orléans.

"The DUC DE CHARTRES is son of the Duc d'Orléans, and is now twenty-four years old. He is in no respect superior to his father ; their talents are nearly of the same order. The Duc de Chartres is married to the Duc de Penthièvre's daughter, † and, in consequence of this marriage, will become High-Admiral of France on the death of his father-in-law. This makes him apply himself with some attention to the study of marine affairs, in which, however, I understand he makes no great progress.

"The PRINCE DE CONDÉ is about thirty-five years

* The Marquise de Montesson was secretly married to the Duc d'Orléans, in presence of two of the Duc's chamberlains. The anger of the Duc de Chartres, his son, was extreme when he discovered the fact.—*Mems. de Genlis*, tome ii., p. 94.

† The Princesse de Lamballe was the widow of the son of the Duc de Penthièvre—(see Narrative, p. 123, vol. i.)—who reluctantly consented to the marriage of his daughter with the Duc de Chartres (whose maritime ambition was, as the Narrative has shown, frustrated). From the venerable Duc de Penthièvre, the present Orléans family derive a goodly inheritance of virtue.

old. . . . He is a man of warm temper, and rather violent in his passions. He has very little knowledge, but some wit—French—which consists in sallies, and in repartee. He has great personal bravery, but is quite destitute of military knowledge, although his flatterers sometimes compare him to the great Condé. He is suspected by his party (the Parliament) of not having the intention to stick by them. He is married to the Prince de Soubise's daughter, * by whom he has a son, the Duc de Bourbon, who is married to a daughter of the Duc d'Orléans. The Duc de Bourbon does not promise to be more than his father.

"The PRINCE DE CONTI is about fifty-four years old, and was married to a lady of the house of Orléans, but has been a widower ever since the year 1736. He is considered by people in general at Paris as a man of uncommon parts, and of great acquired knowledge; but, for my part, I cannot think him entitled to the reputation he has. He is very bold (I mean he has bravery and resolution), he has a good deal of wit, and is a professed freethinker in religion. He has been in constant opposition to the Court for upwards of twenty years,"—(for his pleadings at Court in behalf of the parliaments, Louis XV. called him "my cousin the lawyer,")—"and this makes him the idol of all those who are, in any way, connected with the parliaments of the kingdom. His fortune is very small, compared with that of the other princes; and, on this account, he keeps his place of Grand Prior of France, which he holds of the Master of Malta, and which is worth about 600,000 livres ayear. This place obliges him to celibacy, and hence it is that he has remained so long a widower. However, lately he had a notion of

* The Prince de Soubise was the favourite general, the intimate friend, and the executor of the late Madame de Pompadour. His daughter, now Princesse de Condé, was the play-fellow, in childhood, of Madame de Pompadour's daughter, who died before her mother.—Secret Hist. of the Court of France under Louis XV., vol. ii., p. 88.

marrying Madame Adelaïde, the King's daughter. The Princesse Dowager, his mother, went some months ago to pay a visit to Madame du Barry (the King's mistress), to negotiate this affair with her, but Madame du Barry opposed it. The Marquise de Boufflers governs him absolutely.*

"The COUNT DE LA MARCHE is the only son of the Prince de Conti. He is now about thirty-seven years of age. He alone, of all the Princes of the blood, stood by the Court on the late occasion" (of disputes with the Parliaments), "for which he is rewarded with an annuity of 50,000 livres, and the government of Berry, void by the death of the Comte de Clermont. He was married twelve years ago to a princess of the house of Modena. But he refused to live with her as his wife, saying, that he was too poor a prince to have legitimate children. It is now the fashion to run him down; and, indeed, it is true he is far from being a man of genius.

"The COUNT DE CLERMONT, who died lately, was brother to M. le Duc, and uncle to the present Prince de Condé. The violence of his temper was such as to deprive him at times of the use of his reason; and, indeed, he was little better than a bedlamite at any time. But he is now no more. Such seem to me the princes

* Madame la Comtesse de Genlis, who was governess to the children of the Duc de Chartres, and therefore attached by her office to the Orléans and parliamentary party, as opposed to the Court at Versailles, says:—"Madame la Comtesse de Boufflers, the intimate friend of the Prince Conti, passed for the most intellectual woman in society. . . . I always found her as rational as *spirituelle*. She was never vulgar—I loved her much.—Mems. de Genlis, tome ii., p. 207. Madame la Marquise du Deffand (see Narrative, vol. i., p. 231) was angry with her friend, David Hume, the English historian, for being so much in society at the Prince de Conti's. Madame du Deffand seems to have been jealous of David Hume's admiration of Madame de Boufflers—"a worshipper," she calls him, "of the Idol set up in that temple."—Lettres de Madame du Deffand à Horace Walpole, tome iv., p. 306. Paris, 1824.

of the blood, who are all, except the Count de la Marche, against the Court."

C

(To NARRATIVE p. 17, vol. i.)

Cardinal Prince de Rohan.

The heinousness of the conduct of Prince Louis de Rohan (afterwards Cardinal de Rohan) as man and ambassador, was not known until long afterwards; but as his actions militated from the first against the honour and happiness of the Dauphiness, and affected her future life, as Queen, a brief recital of them must find a place here; especially as such characters as de Rohan, in the church and state of France, rendered all classes of people impatient under the old *régime*, and restlessly eager for change.

We have already (in Appendix A of this work) seen Prince Louis de Rohan welcoming the Dauphiness, Marie Antoinette, at the doors of the Cathedral at Strasbourg; he was, therefore, associated with her from the earliest period of her marriage. His being sent as ambassador to the Court of Vienna from the Court of Versailles, might have given de Rohan a chance of assisting to bring about the "new golden age," which had been prophesied in that address at Strasbourg, would result from the "union of the soul of Maria Theresa with the illustrious race of Bourbon!" The following is what Cardinal Prince de Rohan did do.*

He represented to Maria Theresa that her daughter, the Dauphiness, neglected opportunities which the partiality of the King of France for her presented, of ad-

* To prevent confusion with the narrative, Prince Louis is here called by his future title of Cardinal de Rohan.

vancing the political interests of her own country ; that she wasted her time in frivolous amusements ; that she was, in short, unfitted in character for her political mission at the Court of France, while the fact of her being as yet childless, rendered it extremely improbable that, as the Dauphin's wife, she would ever bring forth an heir to the crown of France, and so perpetuate the political advantages of an alliance between that country and Austria through future generations.

Cardinal de Rohan flattered himself that he should one day govern the Courts and Cabinets of both Vienna and Versailles. His object was, from the first, to get Maria Theresa and her daughter, Marie Antoinette, in his power, and to make himself necessary to each by playing one off against the other. Maria Theresa, in marrying her daughter to a French prince, thought to profit by the marriage politically. With all her boasted love for her children, the Queen-Empress of Austria was too much inclined to regard them as political tools. Marie Antoinette (it has been said, by those who knew her best) was least fitted of all Maria Theresa's children, for an instrument to accomplish her mother's designs : young, innocent, and girlish, she was naturally more fond of pleasure than politics. It was not until long afterwards, in a fierce school of turbulent and revolutionary passions, that Marie Antoinette learned the latter. It was reserved for the people of France to teach politics to the daughter of the Queen-Empress of Austria.

Cardinal de Rohan tried to persuade Maria Theresa that, as a safeguard to Austrian interests, she should surround her daughter with spies ; these agents being creatures of his own. But Maria Theresa was prudent. Her ambition rendered her credulous ; yet, before deciding on treating her daughter merely as a political puppet, to be moved this way or that way by unseen strings, according to her own will, she, unknown to de Rohan, despatched the Baron de Neni to Versailles, there to inform himself and her

as to the real position of her daughter, the Dauphiness, at that Court. The report of de Neni was not favourable to de Rohan. It represented him as playing into the hands of Madame du Barry and the Duc d'Aiguillon. Madame du Barry was personally jealous of the Dauphiness; and the Duc d'Aiguillon was politically opposed to the Duc de Choiseul (the friend of the Dauphiness in her childhood, when he was ambassador at Vienna), who originally had achieved the alliance between France and Austria. Acting upon de Neni's information, Maria Theresa forbade Prince Louis Cardinal de Rohan to re-enter her presence. But he was not defeated. Before news of his disgrace at Vienna could reach Versailles, he himself appeared there, stating that the Queen-Empress had granted him leave of absence. Romance declares that during that flying visit to Versailles, de Rohan conceived a violent passion for the Dauphiness, and even political writers have not scorned to hint that such was the case; but, whether love had anything to do with his after-conduct or not, Cardinal de Rohan's plot against Marie Antoinette now took a new and more infernal form. He obtained an interview with her, in which, both as ambassador and churchman, he gained her confidence. During this interview he told her that her mother, seeing in her so little eagerness to serve the interests of Austria, had charged him to negotiate a marriage between her sister, the Archduchess Elizabeth, and Louis XV. The Dauphiness was profoundly affected by this news, and, unable to conceal her emotion, declared her displeasure at the suggestion of such an alliance. Her situation was the more embarrassing because an idea had already gained ground at Versailles of divorcing her—the maiden wife—from the Dauphin, and of marrying her to the King, thus at once making her Queen of France. Marie Antoinette had had a natural aversion to such a monstrous scheme, although Louis XV., notwithstanding Madame du Barry's furious displeasure, had endeavoured to gain her affection, by presenting

jewels to her of fabulous value, and by kindness and attentions calculated to rouse her gratitude in the midst of a Court where she was openly neglected by her husband and surrounded by enemies.* Marie Antoinette had not wished to marry her husband's grandfather, but still less did she desire to see herself supplanted on the throne of France by her sister Elizabeth. However unwelcome and monstrous the one proposal, the other seemed more monstrous and unwelcome still; especially as the consideration of the one was now familiar to Marie Antoinette, and the other was strange to her. She was unskilled in the use of diplomatic language, and her tongue, instead of concealing thought, revealed it. Thus Marie Antoinette armed de Rohan with future power against her as the wife of the husband who had, as yet, utterly neglected her. She even wrote to de Rohan her willingness to be guided politically by his counsels in favour of Austria. De Rohan had insinuated himself into her confidence as her friend, and Marie Antoinette was just then sorely in need of friends. The unblushing position of Madame du Barry at Versailles had outraged the young Dauphiness from the first period of her arrival at Versailles from her mother's Court, where, though political intrigues were legion, the surface of society was unsullied. Marie Antoinette was now regarded by the King's mistress as a rival in the King's favour. She was, in consideration of that rivalry, more than ever an object of enmity to the Dauphin's aunts, who ought to have been her natural protectors in the midst of a corrupt Court. It seemed as though her own mother were now leagued against her with her enemies in the

* It was at this period that the jeweller, Böhmer, first received from Louis XV. the order for the famous "Queen's Necklace," which that monarch destined for Marie Antoinette, whom he hoped to seat by his side on the throne. "The Queen's Necklace" is a romance of history, especially in its connection with Cagliostro, curious and exciting enough to have dispensed with the novelist's intervention.

land of her adoption. The Court of France, viewed through her own griefs, was not a pleasant picture; and it can scarcely be wondered at that, misled by his feigned sympathy, Marie Antoinette depicted it to de Rohan in such colours as to arm him with future power against her as Queen of France. Fortune favoured de Rohan elsewhere at the same moment. His secretary, the Abbé Georgel, had obtained, by craft and corruption, copies of letters from Austrian ministers to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, in which letters it was proposed to prevent France from re-uniting herself with the Ottoman Porte.* Fortified by the knowledge of this secret correspondence, de Rohan broke through the interdict which had banished him from the presence of Maria Theresa, and, once more appearing before the Queen-Empress, declared that the letters had fallen into his hands by the treachery of her trusted agents. He employed the secret he had gained as a threat over the haughty potentate who had recently dismissed him in displeasure. He declared that if the intrigues of Vienna with St. Petersburg, which he had discovered, were communicated to Versailles, they would be considered there tantamount to a declaration of war; as France would never consent to the states of the "Grand Seigneur" being cut up by Russia and Austria, since thereby the balance of European power would be destroyed, and the Empress Catherine enabled to realize still further her ambitious projects, which had been already too successful.† Then, having

* A maxim of Count de Kaunitz (long the most favoured ambassador of Maria Theresa at the Court of Versailles), was: "A politician must believe that all things are possible; a clever politician may attempt everything; a successful politician must shrink from nothing,"—on the plea of Machiavel, that "more is sometimes to be gotten by sudden *boldness* than by any other means"—or, as he says in "Il Principe:" "*Io giudico ben questo, che sia meglio essere impetuoso che rispettivo.*"

† Peter the Great had left a code of political instructions for his successors, "in the same way as Moses had recommended the tables of the law to the constant consideration of the Jewish

pictured to the Queen-Empress the alarming consequences of war between France and Austria, de Rohan represented himself as the mutual friend of both those countries, and exhibited written proofs that the Dauphiness considered him so, and trusted him as such implicitly. "The lively interest which animates me in in favour of your house," said he, to the Queen-Empress, "is my excuse to your Majesty for having already been carried further than I have been authorized to go; but, considering the sterility of Madame the Dauphiness . . . her coldness for the interests of Austria, the likelihood of the sceptre of France reverting to the children of the Count d'Artois (an event of which none can foresee the consequences), I have taken upon me, Madame, without the sanction of your Imperial Majesty, to propose to King Louis XV. a marriage with your daughter the Archduchess Elizabeth. As Queen of France, your daughter will have all means at her command of favouring your projects. Louis XV., as the first proof of his affection for his young consort, will offer his support to you against the two powers (Russia and Prussia) which seek to aggrandize themselves. You may consider yourself as already re-installed in all your ancient possessions." *

Maria Theresa fell into de Rohan's snare. All letters

people." Two of these maxims of Peter the Great were—1st, "To divide Poland by keeping up continual trouble and jealousies there; to gain the powerful at the cost of gold; to influence the diets; to corrupt them, so as to control the elections of kings." 2nd, "To make it to the interest of the House of Austria to drive the Turk out of Europe, and to conquer Constantinople, even though by yielding a portion of the conquest to Austria, of which portion Russia can re-possess herself afterwards."—*Plan de Domination Européenne laissé par Pierre le Grand, à ses successeurs au Trône de la Russie, et déposé dans les Archives du Palais de Péterhoff, près St. Petersbourg.*

* Especially Silesia, which Frederick of Prussia had snatched from Maria Theresa, immediately upon his accession to the throne. Silesia was a constant bone of discord between Austria and Prussia. Silesia was to Maria Theresa what Calais was to Queen Mary of England.

to her from her daughter, Marie Antoinette, were intercepted. The Queen-Empress pardoned de Rohan for his late misconduct, and appointed him to be her envoy plenipotentiary to Versailles, where he exhibited a caricature of Maria Theresa, in which she held in one hand a handkerchief to dry her tears, and in the other the sword by which she effected the partition of Poland. The death of Louis XV. eventually frustrated de Rohan's schemes; but, though exiled from Court, such was the fear entertained of him by Marie Antoinette, and the power of his family, that he was subsequently made Grand Almoner of the kingdom, and even assisted at the baptism of the first dauphin.*

D

(To NARRATIVE, p. 18, vol. i.)

A Count and his Creditors.

Various promissory notes, endorsed by high sounding names of the old French noblesse, have survived the storm which closed the last century in France, to prove what cause of complaint Paris had against Versailles. From a mass of such documents, each one telling its own tale of trouble and humiliation, where least suspected, the following letter from the Count d'Hautefort to his jeweller, shows that money not less than *noblesse oblige*, even to the breaking down of class in an aristocratic society, where external magnificence was an exclusive and hereditary privilege :—

“ A Paris, ce 11 Oct., 1771.

“ The act of arrangement with my creditors is all ready, my dear Coutelle; and you will do me a favour by going to sign it at the house of M. Quatremère. I beg you not to refuse your signature, and hope that you will trust to my honesty, of which I will *do the*

* *Mems. relatifs à la Famille Royale de France.* Paris, 1826.
Mems. Lamballe. Nouvelle Biographie, &c.

impossible to give you proofs. When you have signed, I shall be very glad to have a chat with you. I shall perhaps have the means of doing something that will give you pleasure. Come to see me.—I am, my dear Coutelle, altogether yours, and with all my heart,

“LE COMTE D’HAUTEFORT.”

Envelope addressed—

“A Monsieur M. Coutelle,

“Jeweller, à l’Espérance,

“Near the Pont Neuf, Quay des Morfondus, à Paris.”*

E

(To NARRATIVE, p. 23, vol. i.)

The Daughters of Louis XV. and the Archbishop of Paris.

Madame Royale-Louise-Elisabeth, of France, daughter of Louis XV., had died in 1759. She was the wife of the Duke of Parma, son of Elizabeth Farnèse. By this marriage the royal families of France and Spain, which were already united by blood, were drawn more closely together. The Duchess of Parma, who was much beloved by her father, had just arrived from Italy at Versailles, on a visit to her family, when she was attacked by smallpox, and died in less than a week. Her death was the cause of much grief to Louis XV., who, despite his faults, was tenderly attached to his children. The Duchess of Parma had favoured the Austrian alliance. Her sisters, Mesdames Adélaïde, Victoire, and Sophie, were unable to replace to Louis XV. the daughter he had lost, although they risked their own lives by voluntary attendance on his deathbed. Madame Adélaïde was by far the most talented, and the most opposed to the Dauphiness.

* Aut. Egerton Collection.

Horace Walpole, in 1765, was presented to Mesdames the Princesses, at Versailles; and he, not pausing for nice distinctions, declares them all to be "clumsy, plump old wenches, with a bad likeness of their father; they stand," he declares, "in a bedchamber in a row, with black cloaks and knotting bags, looking good-humoured, not knowing what to say and—wriggling"

The youngest daughter of Louis XV., the Princess Louise, had taken the veil. She was known as "the nun of St. Denis." To the last she was the favourite of her father, and the good angel of his life. The Princesse Louise was still very young when her mother (Marie Lesczinska, daughter of Stanislas, ex-King of Poland) died. Her childhood was devoted to study and to her father. Her death was ecstatic.*

In opposition to Madame du Barry, and to counteract her evil designs, the Princesse Louise had associated herself, politically, with the Archbishop of Paris, who was equally notorious for charity and bigotry. His opinions were uncompromising, but by his good deeds he earned respect even amongst those who, in church and state, were most adverse to them.

"At the head of the King's party," says a contemporary of Louis XV., "is Madame Louise, the Nun of St. Denis, and the Archbishop (Beaumont) of Paris. The Archbishop is a man of principle and of undoubted integrity, but obstinate, bigoted, and superstitious. He was rather roughly treated by the old Parliaments, who had him exiled two or three times. He is a great friend to the Jesuits, and a great enemy to the liberties of the Gallican Church."

But Archbishop Beaumont was so consistent in his intolerance that Frederick of Prussia declared that "if that bigot would visit him at Berlin, he would go half way on the road to Paris to meet him."

* The younger princesses—sisters to Louis XVI.—were Madame Elizabeth (see Narrative, vol. i., p. 126), and Madame Clotilde, who was married, in 1777, to the Prince of Piedmont.

F

(TO NARRATIVE, p. 32, vol. i.)

Madame du Barry.

"Madame du Barry's party is much more numerous than the King's party. The Duc d'Aiguillon is at the head of it. The Countesse du Barry is a very fine woman, but having had no education, she is ignorant of everything that is useful and ornamental in a person of her rank at present. Her natural parts are not bad, and, if improved, she would have been at least equal to Madame de Pompadour. Her good sense appears strongly in the deference she has for her sister-in-law's advice. This sister-in-law is as ugly as the devil himself, but she has a great deal of wit and some knowledge and taste. This woman governs Madame du Barry, and that in a very politic manner. Had it not been for her, Choiseul" (Madame de Pompadour's political ally) "would at this moment have been minister, and d'Aiguillon would have died on a scaffold. But this is too delicate, and must not be meddled with." *

G

(TO NARRATIVE, p. 22, vol. i.)

The Pretender.

The young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, who, since the defeat of 1745, when France lent men, arms, and money to support the Stuart and Catholic cause, had been banished from France by a special

* Memoirs of the French Court. Unpublished MSS. Mus. Brit. Date—Paris, 1771.

clause inserted in the Peace Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle by England. The Pretender had been sent for to France by the Duc de Choiseul, just before the disgrace of that minister in 1770, with a design to make use of him in a project against England; but, when the Pretender presented himself before the Cabinet of Versailles he was so hopelessly drunk that all hope was relinquished of making him a tool in any political project.*

H

(To NARRATIVE, p. 61, vol. i.)

Original Letters from Major-General Haldimand (Brigadier-General of the Southern Districts of North-America, and afterwards Governor of Canada), to the Right Honourable Earl of Dartmouth (one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State). Dates 1773-1774. MSS. unpublished. Mus. Brit.

Letter from General Haldimand to the Right-Honourable Earl of Dartmouth, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

"New York, January 5th, 1773.

"MY LORD,—I cannot find that the behaviour of the people of Boston meets with general approbation. . . . Forty of the town of Plymouth have even entered and published a very spirited protest against their countrymen, expressing their abhorrence of their rebellious proceedings, and testifying their attachment to the present government and to His Majesty. . . . I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"F. HALDIMAND."

* Die Gräfin von Albany. Berlin, R. Decker, 1860. For an able analysis of "Die Gräfin," see *Westminster Review*, July, 1861.

Lord Dartmouth was only too willing to believe in America's general disapprobation of rebellious proceedings, as may be inferred from the following—

"To Major-General Haldimand.

"Whitehall, 5th July, 1773.

"SIR—The last despatches received from Lieutenant-General Gage do not contain anything material except the report that he makes of the burning of His Majesty's ship at Crown Point. *It is to be hoped that this event was owing to accident*, but it will be your duty to make a very strict inquiry, and to report to me the result for his Majesty's information. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant, "DARTMOUTH."

The following year brought news to the British Government of an event in America, which by no self-delusion could be attributed to accident. The following despatch, although often and variously commented upon, may not, in its original form, be uninteresting to some readers :

"To the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth.

"New York, May 4th, 1774.

"MY LORD,—The long-expected tea-ships arrived at last on the 18th ult., at Sandy-hook, from whence the captain was not allowed to proceed until notice of his arrival could be sent to New York, which, being done, in a short time a committee from the inhabitants went on board of the ship and acquainted the captain that he would not be permitted to proceed with her to town, but might go with them to the persons to whom it was consigned ; and that no harm should be done to him, provided that he did not offer to go near the Custom-house. He was then brought to New York, where he stayed a few days to take a few provisions which he wanted, and entered no protest. He was then re-conducted on board of a pilot-boat, amidst the acclamations of a numerous mobbing crowd, and sent to his ship, with which he soon after proceeded to her desti-

nation. The day before his departure, one of the ships from London arrived, the master of which had brought about twenty chests of green tea on his own account; intelligence of which having been sent from Philadelphia to this place, she was boarded by a number of persons in the evening, who insisted on having the tea brought on deck. They then threw it overboard, and returned home. The master of that ship was obliged for safety to take refuge on board the tea-ship, and is gone away with her. Such is the state of anarchy and confusion at present in these colonies, that though a few of the better kind of people highly disapprove of the unwarrantable measures adopted by their countrymen, yet none dare openly to speak their minds, and to oppose the torrent of licentiousness which now prevails. (Signed) FREDERICK HALDIMAND.*

* To this original letter from General Haldimand to Lord Dartmouth there is a glimpse given to us of the American Indians (who, in other MSS. of the same collection, complain of the Government authorities in a sort of "round robin," of the encroachments of the European settlers upon their boundary marks—these complainant savages signing themselves, "A Long String.") "The six nations," writes General Haldimand to Lord Dartmouth, "have at last been prevailed upon to surrender two of the murderers of the four Canadians killed last year, and they are now in gaol. The others have made their escape. The novelty of delivering any of their people to be dealt with according to our laws, more especially as they have so often represented the ill-treatment they receive constantly from our frontier inhabitants, without redress, has occasioned a great deal of contention amongst themselves. Sir William Johnstone having represented to me the good effects which a pardon granted at this time upon this too much discontented people—and joining in opinion with him in that respect—I have consented that they (the murderers) should be given up to their nation, and forgiven (not, however, until a full restitution of the robbery has taken place); and I am in hopes that it may be the means of attaching the, 'Senecas' (the most powerful tribe by much, to whom the criminals belong), more to our interest, and that their future behaviour will merit this act of lenity.

"(Signed) FREDERICK HALDIMAND.

"To Lord Dartmouth, &c."

Lord Dartmouth wrote on behalf of the Crown :

" To Major-General Haldimand.

" SIR,— . . . The advices which have been received of what has passed at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, respecting the teas sent over for sale by the East India Company, are of the most serious nature, and have induced the fullest consideration. . . . I should acquaint you that it is the King's firm resolution, upon the unanimous advice of his confidential servants, to pursue measures for securing the dependence of the colonies upon this kingdom. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant, "DARTMOUTH." *

• I

(To NARRATIVE, p. 306, vol. i.)

The Remains of Voltaire.

In the month of December last, 1862, a chest, containing "the precious relics of Voltaire," was opened (it is said in Paris) at the Château de Villette. This chest contained—besides the urn inclosing the heart—a crown, a girdle, and other articles which were used, in 1778, at the Apotheosis of Voltaire, at the Freemason's Lodge of the Nine Sisters, in Paris; also a

* The first tea ship which arrived at Boston, laden with one hundred and fourteen chests of tea, was called the "Dartmouth" after the colonial minister, the writer of the above letter. This tea ship anchored at Boston on a Sabbath morning. The Sabbath was rigidly observed by Bostonians; but for once churches, chapels, and tabernacles, were deserted, whilst their congregations flocked down to the wharf to look at the "Dartmouth," and to force the owner of that hated ship to promise that he would not enter her at the custom-house until the following Tuesday. An armed guard was placed on board, and the owner and the master of the ship were at length obliged to pledge themselves that the teas should be sent back."

dressing-gown and an under-waistcoat, which are supposed to be the garments last worn by Voltaire. From a paper found in the same chest, it appears that the heart was originally given to Madame Denis, and that by her it was presented to Madame de Villette, by whose husband it was enshrined, with the motto—" *Son esprit est partout, et son cœur n'est qu'ici.*" An idea is at this time mooted of placing the heart of Voltaire in the French Academy, although, not a century since, it was only, M. le Comte de Ségur declares, by the zealous fraud of a relative and friend that Voltaire's body escaped being cast into the common sewer, by being secretly carried off to the Abbaye de Scellières, where it was really buried (notwithstanding subsequent prevarications with the priesthood) just three hours before the news of its excommunication reached the Curé who had performed the ceremony:

K

(To NARRATIVE, p. 325, vol. i.)

The Rev. William Cole.

Born, 1714. "An antiquary from his cradle." Priest, magistrate, and Deputy Lieutenant of Cambridge, of which county he was a native. In 1765, went to France with Horace Walpole. Owing, it is supposed, to his partiality for the Roman Catholic religion, thought of settling there; but, on reflection, "I did not like the plan," says he, "when at that time the Jesuits were expelled, and the philosophic Deists were so powerful as to threaten the destruction not only of all the religious orders, but of Christianity itself." Horace Walpole helped to dissuade him, by telling him that, in the event of his remaining in France, all his MSS. would infallibly become the property of the King of that country, and probably be destroyed. So, in 1767—after resigning the living of

Bletchley, in Bucks—he settled himself at Milton, near Cambridge, from whence his *sobriquet* of “Cole of Milton.” Subsequently, he accepted the living of Burnham, Bucks, but he continued to reside at Milton, where, in 1782, he died, having long suffered from gout. He bequeathed his MSS. to the British Museum, with the condition that they should not be opened until twenty years after his death. He never forgave the French their alliance with America.

L

(To NARRATIVE, p. 21, vol. ii.)

*The Duc and Duchesse de Chartres (afterwards
Duc and Duchesse d'Orléans).*

The Duc de Chartres was at one time the possessor of an immense fortune; his wife being, after the untimely death of her brother, the Prince de Lamballe, the richest heiress in France. But, nevertheless, the Duc de Chartres contracted large debts, and, thinking to overcome his embarrassments by speculation, he surrounded the gardens of his palace (the Palais Royal) with buildings which he let, whilst admitting the people, indiscriminately, into his grounds, which hitherto had been regarded as an enclosure sacred to royalty. The bourgeoisie of Paris were thus first installed at the Palais Royal; but a caricature appeared in that city of the Duc de Chartres, in the costume of a rag-man, picking up tatters from the ground (*loques à terre*)—thus deriding both him and his “lodgers” (*locataires*). It was not, possibly, an assumption far off from the truth that this caricature had emanated from Versailles, at which Court the conduct of the Duc de Chartres was viewed with indignation, as derogatory to the dignity of a prince of the blood. On the other hand, the Duc had complained that the Queen was wanting in respect to him as a

member of the royal family ; for when her brother, the Archduke Maximilien, had visited her Majesty, soon after her accession to the throne, she, desirous of enjoying his society in strict privacy, had not thought it necessary that he should pay his respects at the Palais Royal. There is no doubt that the Queen was unfavourably impressed towards the Duc de Chartres by the Princesse de Lamballe, who attributed the demoralization of her husband and his consequent death (in 1768) to the fatal influence which the Duc had exercised over that young prince, whom, as a widow, she continued to mourn as though he had been worthy of her devotion to him as wife. In 1779, it was even whispered at Versailles that the expedition of Admiral d'Orvilliers, in the attempted descent on England, had failed on account of the treacherous jealousy of the Duc de Chartres against him, the Duc having long ardently wished to be appointed High-Admiral of France, in the place of his father-in-law, the Duc de Penthièvre, and not desiring that others should win the laurels which he had hoped were reserved for himself alone. The after-history of the Duc d'Orléans belongs more particularly to the time of the Revolution ; but, in justice to his memory, it ought here to be said that, whatever his faults or vices, he was not deficient in courage. When popular favour at last turned against him, and he was led to the scaffold, he showed no sign of fear or weakness, not even when the cart in which he was conveyed from prison to the place of execution (the Place Louis XV.) was stopped, in derision, on its way before the Palais Royal, his former abode. As to his wife, the Duchesse d'Orléans, her virtues were respected even during that reign of terror and of crime. She had taken refuge with her venerable father, the Duc de Penthièvre, at his country estate called *Vernon* ; and when he died (in 1793), when her children had either fled or were prisoners, and all most dear to her, including her beloved sister-in-law, the Princesse de Lamballe, were either dead or pro-

scribed, the vassals at Vernon, where she still continued to reside, offered to protect her with their lives against those who at length came to seek her. They planted cannon at the gates of the château, but she forbade that blood should be shed for her, and voluntarily allowed herself, attended only by one woman-servant, to be conveyed to the Prison of the Luxembourg. When at length released, she was subjected to many privations and wanderings, but, blessed once more in the presence of her children, she died in Paris, A.D. 1821, and was buried in the sepulchre of her father.

M.

(To NARRATIVE p. 48, vol. ii.)

*The Duc and the Duchesse d'Angoulême.**

Louis Antoine de Bourbon, Duc d'Angoulême, the son of the Comte d'Artois, and of Marie Thérèse, princess of Sardinia (Dauphin of France in later years, when his father became Charles X., King of France) was born at Versailles the 6th of August, 1775. He was, therefore, between three and four years of age when his cousin, Marie Thérèse Charlotte, the eldest child of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette, was born at Versailles, December 19th, 1778.

The Duc d'Angoulême was fourteen years of age when the Revolution broke out; his father the Count d'Artois, had taken refuge from political troubles at the Court of Turin, and it was there that the young Duke applied himself to study and to military science, although in 1792, when he was intrusted with a military command in Germany, he failed greatly to distinguish himself. He subsequently retired with his father to Holyrood, but rejoined his uncle, Louis XVIII., at

* Nouvelle Biographie. Paris, 1854. Thiers' Consulate and the Empire, vol. xviii.

Blankenburg, from whence he proceeded to Mittau, at the ducal castle of which city he was married to his cousin.

Meanwhile, she, the unfortunate "Orphan of the Temple," the first-born child of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette, had wept the loss of her father, her mother, her Aunt Elizabeth, and her brother. "She had exchanged the pomps of Versailles for the prison of the Temple; she had beheld her beloved parents go forth from that prison, but to mount the scaffold." In religion this princess—who at her birth received the title of *Madame Royale de France*—alone found consolation. Bereft of all she dearly loved, she was disregarded even by those who, still living, ought to have earlier protected her youth, and sheltered her sorrow. But Austria at length remembered that the granddaughter of Maria Theresa still lived; negotiations were opened in her behalf, and in December 1795 she was free to go to Vienna, where she remained for three years, living on a legacy which had been left her by her aunt, the Duchesse de Saxe Teschen. On the 10th of June in 1799, she was married to her cousin, the Duc d'Angoulême, at Mittau. But fate still pursued them both. Sacrificed successively to the interests of Prussia and Russia, it was in England only, invulnerable to Napoléon, that they found a refuge. They lived in profound retreat with their uncle, Louis XVIII., at Hartwell: but, at the Restoration, France once more claimed them. They were at Bordeaux when the news of Napoléon's disembarkation reached them, and in the spirit of her grandmother, Maria Theresa, the Duchesse d'Angoulême then reviewed and encouraged the troops which her husband bravely commanded.

Upon the accession of Charles X., in 1824, the Duc d'Angoulême took the title of Dauphin, although, long accustomed to misfortune and solitude, he never assumed any attitude of political importance. Upon the abdication of Charles X. he formally resigned, in conjunction with his father, all right to the throne. He

returned with his wife to England, but shortly afterwards retreated with her to Holyrood. The air of Scotland being too keen for the Duchesse, whose health had been impaired in her youth by misfortune, they set out for the Continent, residing successively at Vienna, Prague, and Goritz. At the last-named place Charles X. died, in November 1836. Eight years afterwards died the pious Duc d'Angoulême, and in 1851 the tomb closed over his widow, the daughter of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette, whose birth was so rapturously hailed by her parents, and whose knees when she died were said, by one who knew and loved her, to be "worn with prayer." Her courage was not unworthy the descendant of the Queen-Empress of Austria.

Speaking of her zeal above-named, in stimulating the loyalty of the French troops at Bordeaux, Napoléon declared of her: "She is the only man in her family."

But, inheriting, also, the sensibility of her mother, she (when, in 1814, brought back triumphantly to Paris in company with her Uncle Louis XVIII.) fainted at the sight of the Tuileries, which palace her parents had left to go to the Temple, and from the Temple to the scaffold. Her constancy was likewise great; for when the Abbé Edgeworth (who, as Confessor, had attended her father on the scaffold) was dying of a contagious disease, she voluntarily exposed her own life in requiting to that venerable ecclesiastic the love and care which had assuaged the last moments of the author of her existence.

N

(TO NARRATIVE, p. 119, vol. ii.)

D'ORVILLIERS (Louis Guillonet, Comte) was born at Moulins, 1708. His father was Governor of Calenne. He passed from the Army into the Navy in 1728, and subsequently distinguished himself in the

naval annals of France. During the "War of Independence" he was suffering from a serious malady, the consequence, it is said, of not only the disappointment, but the anxiety and fatigue he endured in the attempted descents on England. Soon after the alliance of France with Spain, his son, a young lieutenant on board the *Bretagne*, was mortally wounded. Naturally, it would seem, of a gloomy disposition, the Count d'Orvilliers never recovered the loss of his son; and when, in 1783, his wife also died, he sent in his final resignation to the King, and retired to the Seminary of St. Magloire, in Paris, where he still lived in retreat when the Revolution compelled him to seek another asylum. The date and place of his death are uncertain, and this uncertainty is probably increased by the fact of his having dropped his secular name and title when he exchanged the glory of this world for that of another.

O

(TO NARRATIVE, p. 144, vol ii.)

De la Luzerne.

LUZERNE (Anne César de la) born in Paris, 1741. Was brought up as a soldier, and was Colonel of French Grenadiers when he—in 1762—renounced the profession of arms, and voluntarily commenced his studies as diplomatist. In 1777 he was successful in his negotiations as French envoy in Bavaria; after which his services were transferred, in favour of his country, to America. He remained in America until the Peace, and, during the years of his residence there, was so much respected and beloved that, when he left, a quaker—notorious for his abhorrence of flattery—said to him: "Thy memory will ever be dear to us, for thou hast been uniformly a minister of peace amongst

us. Thou hast spared nothing to soften the horrors of inhuman war, and to free from its calamities those who do not exercise the profession of arms." De la Luzerne returned to France after the Peace (1783), and passed some years in the bosom of his family, there to re-establish his health, which had become deranged during his residence in America. In 1788 he accepted the Embassy of London, and remained in England until his death, in 1791.

THE END.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

TO APPENDIX I., P. 363.

As disputes are at this time rife in Paris concerning the remains of Voltaire, it may not be out of place here to add, that, twelve years after Voltaire found a resting-place at Scellières, his body was claimed by the revolutionists in Paris. To assure themselves that it was really contained in the coffin which had been buried, the lid was raised, and there, for the moment, was once more seen the patriarch of philosophy, who, embalmed, had resisted the effect of time; but sudden exposure to the air caused the body, almost instantaneously, to change its aspect. The coffin, however, was transported with much pomp to the Panthéon in Paris. Doubts were subsequently raised as to whether the heart of Voltaire was in truth enclosed in the urn which was declared to contain it, enshrined at his château of Ferney, which had been purchased by the Marquis de Villette, of Madame Denis; but the fact of Dr. Tronchin having assisted at the deathbed of Voltaire confirmed the state-

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

ment of M. de Villette and others upon this point. Tronchin was one of the first in France to advocate dissection of the human body after death, and Voltaire's pen had maintained the supposed materializing doctrine of his physician, in upholding against the clergy the scientific necessity of this practice.

A few words may be welcome here with regard to the Marquis de Villette (who was the disciple both of Voltaire and Tronchin). He was born in Paris, 1736. From his father he inherited a large fortune, and from his mother the love of Voltaire, an intimate friendship having subsisted between her and that philosopher. The young Marquis distinguished himself as an officer of cavalry during the Seven Years' War; and, after the peace, rendered himself notorious by a duel, which led to his incarceration in the citadel of Strasbourg. Subsequently, he took refuge at Ferney, in the neighbourhood of Voltaire, and, in 1777, married Mademoiselle de Varicourt ('Belle et Bonne'), Voltaire's adopted daughter. In 1788, de Villette published a "*Choix des Mémoires Secrets de Bachaumont*" (of which liberal use has been made in the course of the Narrative), and at a later date he contributed revolutionary articles to the journal known as the "*Chronique de Paris*." In 1792, he caused his son to be baptized by the names of Voltaire Villette, and having suffered much from the attacks of Marat and of Robespierre, he died in 1793. His wife (born in 1757), who had, since the death of Voltaire, much cause to lament the licentious life of her husband, was not only the daughter of a family loyal to the Church and Crown, but of a singularly pure and religious nature. Not until after the death of Voltaire did she know that he was the author of works she considered heretical, if not impious; but so great was her veneration for his memory, that none the less did she

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

continue, until the end of her life, to burn incense, daily, before the urn, which—removed to her house in Paris—contained his heart. She died in Paris in November, 1822, having the previous year been made the heroine of a Freemason's fête, which, unlike the apotheosis of 1778 (see Narrative, vol. i., p. 304), was there given openly in honour of Voltaire.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

PREFACE, page 7, line 10, Parenthesis omitted between the words "savage" and "it."

„ „ 9, *for first read created Lord Chatham.*
Page 34 (foot-note); *for ben read bon.*

„ 42 „ ; *for Portarlier read Pontarlier.*

„ 32 and 244 ; *for Abbe read Abbé.*

„ 276 ; *for near read at Ferney.*

„ 305 and 306 ; *for Boncher read Boucher.*

VOL. II.

Page 119 ; *for Capucins read Capuchins.*

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